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GT. BRIT. PARLIAMENT, HOUSE OF  
COMMONS, &c.

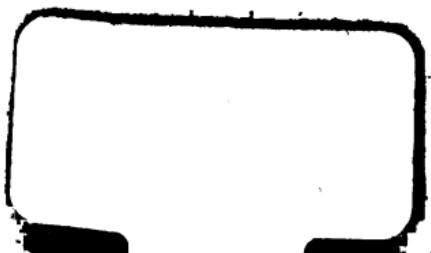
A B S T R A C T  
OF THE  
E V I D E N C E  
DELIVERED BEFORE A  
SELECT COMMITTEE  
OF THE  
HOUSE OF COMMONS  
IN THE YEARS 1790, AND 1791;  
ON THE PART OF THE  
P E T I T I O N E R S  
FOR THE  
A B O L I T I O N  
OF THE  
S L A V E - T R A D E.

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SECOND EDITION.

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## P R E F A C E.

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In consequence of the numerous Petitions which were sent to Parliament from different Counties, Cities, and Towns of Great Britain, in the year 1788, for the ABOLITION of the SLAVE-TRADE, it was determined by the House of Commons to hear Evidence upon that subject.

The Slave-Merchants and Planters accordingly brought forward several persons as witnesses, the first in behalf of the continuance of the Slave-trade, the latter in defence of the Colonial Slavery. These were heard and examined in the years 1789 and 1790.

Several persons were afterwards called on the side of the Petitioners of Great Britain, to substantiate the foundation of their several petitions, and to invalidate several points of the evidence which the others had offered. These were examined in the years 1790, and 1791.

This Abstract then is made up from the evidence of the latter, in which little other alteration has been made than that of bringing things on the same point into one chapter, which before lay scattered in different parts of the evidence; and this has been done to enable the reader to see every branch of the subject in a clear and distinct shape.

The evidence for Africa and the Middle Passage, on the side of the Petitioners of Great Britain, is given by persons, who have been to almost all the conspicuous parts of Africa, from the River Senegal to Angola.

Many of them have had great opportunities of information, from having been resident on shore, or having been up and down the different rivers, or from having made each of them several voyages. Among these, as well as among those who have only had the opportunity perhaps of a single voyage, are to be reckoned several respectable persons of education, observation, and leisure, and it is to be observed, that the information of the whole goes to things at different periods, from the year 1754 to 1789. The evidences again for the West Indies and America are numerous and respectable. Many of them have had the advantage of being resident there for years, and the information which they have given, extends to things as they were at various times from 1753 to 1790. Of all these it must be said, that they are totally *disinterested persons*, and therefore can have had nothing to bias them either one way or the other in the evidence they have given. The Editor, on the other hand, feels it incumbent upon him to acknowledge, that some of them came up as evidences, from a sense of duty, and this *against their own apparent interest*, and under the threats and prospect of suffering considerably for such a conduct.

Of the Evidences, on the other hand, brought forward by the slave-merchants and planters, there are few indeed who are not *deeply interested* in the testimony they have given, and the event of the decision. In the African part of the question, all but two are immediately concerned in the slave-trade; and in the West-Indian, the Admirals only can be fairly excepted. And of what does their information consist but of round and general assertions, without any specifick facts? These assertions, however, are in behalf of the planters, and tend to prove the comforts and happiness of their slaves.

We have no right to suppose that persons of their character had any intention of misleading the publick in a question of so much importance to the interests of mankind; but we may suppose, that *in their situation they had little or no opportunity of observing the treatment of the slaves*; and this is actually the fact. The Admirals, when

when on shore, were almost entirely in the towns. Now all the evidences for the petitioners of England are unanimous in asserting that the slaves in the towns appear to be better treated than those in the country. Hence the Admirals may have been in some measure warranted in saying what they have done; but they ought to have observed that their evidence related to but *a partial and not the general body of the slaves*, and that *their opportunities of information were exceedingly limited and confined*.

When, however, they went into the country, their situation again precluded them from getting the same information as other men. Mr. H. Ross, examined among others, says, that as to the information which may have been gotten by those holding high commands in the West Indies, he cannot speak decidedly; but if it be meant to know whether such, on occasional visits to estates, were likely to obtain a thorough knowledge of the treatment of slaves, *he thinks they could not*. He has often accompanied *Governors and Admirals* in their tours there. The estates visited, belonging to persons of distinction, might be supposed under *the best management*. Besides, *all possible care would be taken to keep every disgusting object from view*, and on no account by the exercise of the whip or other punishments, *to harrow up the feelings of persons of such distinction*.

The above accounts shew that the rank and situation of the Admirals precluded them from seeing as much as others, or in other words, that *their opportunities of information were not as great as those of other men*. Many other circumstances may be cited to prove the same thing. Among these are the preambles and clauses of certain laws, and extracts from the West Indian publick prints. To begin with the former.

*Bahama Islands*.—So lately as in 1784 it was enacted there, that “if any slave shall absent him or herself from his or her owner, for the space of three months successively, such slave shall be deemed an outlaw; and, as an encouragement to apprehend and bring to justice such runaways, any person or persons who shall apprehend any such runaway, either alive or dead, shall

" be paid out of the publick treasury twenty pounds, for  
" every slave so apprehended and taken," &c.\*

*St. Christopher's.*—“ An act to prevent the cutting  
off or depriving any slaves in this island of any of  
their limbs or members, or otherwise disabling  
them,”—passed March 11th, 1784.

“ Whereas some persons have of late been guilty of  
*cutting off and depriving slaves of their ears,* which  
practice is contrary to the principles of humanity and  
dishonourable to society; for prevention whereof in  
future, be it enacted by the Governor, &c. That if  
any owner or possessor of any negro or other slave in  
this island, shall wilfully and wantonly cut or disable,  
or cause or procure to be cut out or disabled the  
tongue; put out, or cause or procure to be put out,  
an eye; slit the nose, ear, or lip, or cut off a nose,  
ear, or lip, or cause the same to be done; or break  
or cause to be broken, the arm, leg, or any other limb,  
or member of any negro,” &c. The penalty is 500.  
currency, or about 300. sterling, and six months  
imprisonment.†

*Barbadoes.*—“ An Act to prevent distempered,  
maimed, and worn out negroes, from infesting the  
towns, streets, and highways of this island.” Passed  
Jan. 18, 1785.

“ Whereas it has, for some time past, been the cruel  
practice of some persons possessing negroes, who, from  
*their old age and infirmities, are incapable of further*  
service to their inhuman owners, to drive them from  
their plantations to beg, steal, or starve, which said  
unhappy objects are daily infesting the publick streets  
of the several towns in this island,” &c. The penalty  
to such owner is 5l. currency, or about 3l. 12s. ster-  
ling; and the act ordains that those unhappy objects  
shall be taken home to their masters.||

*Grenada, 1788.*—“ Whereas the laws heretofore  
made for the protection of slaves have been found  
insufficient; And whereas humanity and the interest  
of the colony require that salutary and adequate re-  
gulations and provisions should be adopted for ren-

\* Privy Council's Report.    † Ibid.    || Ibid.

“ dering

## P R E F A C E.

“ dering their servitude as limited and easy as possible,  
“ and for promoting the increase of their population,  
“ as the most likely means of removing, in the course  
“ of time, the necessity of further importations of negroes  
“ from Africa; And whereas these desirable ends cannot  
“ be so effectually obtained as by prescribing reasonable  
“ bounds to the power of masters, and others having  
“ the charge of slaves, by compelling them sufficiently and  
“ properly to lodge, feed, clothe, and maintain them,” &c.

As to the extracts from the West Indian publick prints, the following, among many others, may suffice :—

From the Jamaica paper, called the Cornwall Chronicle, of December 29, 1787, it appears, That an addition to the Consolidated Slave-law was proposed in these terms :—

“ Whereas the extreme cruelties and inhumanity of  
“ the managers, overseers, and book-keepers of estates,  
“ have frequently driven slaves into the woods, and oc-  
“ casioned rebellions and internal insurrections, to the  
“ great prejudice of the proprietors, and the manifest  
“ danger of the lives of the inhabitants of this island;  
“ for prevention whereof, be it enacted,” &c. “ And  
“ whereas also, it frequently happens, that slaves come  
“ to their deaths by hasty and severe blows, and other  
“ improper treatment of overseers and book-keepers, in  
“ the heat of passion, and, when such accidents do hap-  
“ pen, the victims are entered in the plantation books,  
“ as having died of convulsions, fits, or other causes not to  
“ be accounted for, and to conceal the real truth of the  
“ cause of the death of such slave or slaves, he or they  
“ is or are immediately put under ground,” &c.

The member, (Mr. Gray) who introduced the above, premised, “ That to his own certain knowledge, very unnatural punishments were often inflicted on negroes; and that, in several instances, he had been obliged to interpose as a magistrate, to prevent actual rebellion from such inhuman treatment.”

In the Jamaica paper, called the Gazette of St. Jago de la Vega, dated October 11, 1787, we number 97 runaway

runaway slaves advertised, viz. 45 "branded" and 52 without "brands." Among the former is "William marked on the right shoulder R A, heart and diamond between, and on the left R A, heart at top," also "Batty on both shoulders H P in one," and "Guy marked, on the right shoulder W D, and on the left I H."—In the same Gazette, dated November 8th, 1787, there are notified 23 runaways marked, and 44 unmarked. Among those marked is "Apollo, W S on his face and breast,"—Robert R P on each cheek, and Kingston marked YORKE on each shoulder and breasts."—We find, in the Cornwall Chronicle, of Jamaica, dated December 15, 1778, "84 runaways advertised, 13 of whom only are branded." Among these are "Pompey, a creole negro man, marked on both shoulders and breasts M L, diamond on top," James a carpenter "branded on both cheeks," and "Billy belonging to the King, marked broad arrow, on the shoulder."—In the Kingston Morning Post, of April 8th, 1789, seven runaways from one owner are advertised, namely "a fisherman, a taylor, a shipwright, a sempstress, and three other wenches." In the same paper we find "an old grey headed Coromantee man," a runaway; also another taylor "marked on both shoulders I T, and right shoulder R G."—In the Cornwall Chronicle of Oct. 10, 1789, a runaway is advertised named Prince, branded on the back, with a *cattle mark* TH.—In the Kingston Morning Post of Nov. 4, 1789, we find again, seven runaways from one proprietor, viz. "an old woman with her two sons and two daughters, one of them very big with child," also a field negro and a carpenter.—In the supplement to the Cornwall Chronicle of Nov. 7, 1789, there are 135 runaways advertised, viz. 48 with, and 87 without brands. Of the former some have *two, three, and four brands on the face, breasts, and shoulders.* One in particular is "marked DE on both cheeks and left shoulder." Among those not branded is "a woman with a wooden leg." One man is distinguished

guished by having “*both ears cropt,*” and another by “*his nose and ears being cut off.*”—In the Jamaica Daily Advertiser of Feb. 11, 1791, we find six runaways advertised by one owner, viz. two men and four women, besides a girl child of one of the latter. Both the men and two of the women are of one family, being an old woman, her brother, her son, and her grand nephew (marked R D C) and who absented themselves at different times.—An advertisement in the Jamaica Daily Advertiser of Feb. 24, 1791, begins thus:—“*Feb. 22, 1791, Escaped on Sunday last with a chain and collar round his neck, a negro man of the Mandingo country, marked TY 4 on top,*” &c.

In the Barbadoes Gazette of Jan. 14, 1784, the reader will find this advertisement—

“*Absented herself from the service of the subscriber, a yellow skin negro wench, named Sarah Deroral,*” whose person and furnished place of concealment, being very particularly described, the advertisement ends with these words “*Whoever will apprehend the said wench ALIVE or DEAD, shall receive two moidores reward, from*

JOSEPH CHARLES HOWARD.”

The clauses, preambles, and advertisements just cited will, it is presumed, without any farther extracts, bring additional conviction to the mind of the reader, that the Admirals could have known little or nothing about the treatment of the slaves during their residence in the islands: for they shew, first, that the slaves have been insufficiently fed, lodged, and clothed; that they have been under the power of the master and overseer to an unreasonable degree; that they have been often turned adrift, when incapable of labour, “to beg, steal, or starve;” that their ears and noses have been slit and cut off; that they have been also otherwise disfigured, as well as deprived of limbs and members; that they have been suddenly murdered and buried; and that in some cases where they have run away, rewards have been offered to indifferent persons to bring them to their owners alive or dead.

dead. They shew, secondly, that these different circumstances have happened, and that many of them must have been *notorious* (or why were laws introduced by the colonists themselves for their prevention?) since the year 1783, for the dates of the several acts or advertisements are in 1784, 1785, 1787, 1788, 1789, and 1791. But if they must have been *notorious* since the year 1783, it is clear (the treatment of the slaves having improved though not kept pace with the improvement of the age) that *they must have been equally notorious previous to the year 1783*, that is to say, at the very time the Admirals were in the different islands with their respective fleets. Now the Admirals are as silent about these notorious facts in their evidence, as if they had never existed at all. If they knew them and concealed them (which we cannot believe) their evidence is unworthy of respect upon this occasion; and if they did not know them, it only confirms what has been said before, that *they had not the same opportunities as other men*, and that they were therefore *incompetent* as evidences upon so great a question.

The Admirals again have shewn themselves egregiously ignorant of a *most notorious law*, a law too, which exists at the present day, namely, "that the evidence of a slave is not valid against any white man." Had they been acquainted with this, they would have perceived instantly that it was in any master's power to \*torture or even murder his slave with impunity, and this in the sight of a thousand black spectators, provided he only took care that no white person beheld him. Had they known this, they would have perceived the unprotected state of the slaves, and would never have spoken as they have. It is impossible therefore that

\* Though the reader has seen laws enacted to prevent masters from cutting off the ears and noses of their slaves, and being guilty of other cruelties, he is not to imagine that the master cannot do them now as heretofore; for it is clear, that while a slave's evidence is not admissible against a white man, he may do them with impunity at the present day.

they could have become acquainted with this law, and this only brings us to the same conclusion as before, viz. *their incapacity as evidences on the subject of the treatment of the slaves.*

Before the Preface is closed, it may be necessary to anticipate, that some one may ask the Editor, why he has given in this Abstract the Evidence on the part of the Petitioners only, and omitted that which has been adduced on the other side. To this the Editor might reply, that it is the business of the Slave-merchants and Planters, if they think their case defensible by the evidence they have produced, to do it; but he would rather wish to reply, THAT IT IS UNNECESSARY: for admitting the witnesses on the part of the Slave-merchants and Planters *never to have seen among them all even one single instance of enormity*, either in Africa, or on the Middle Passage, or in the West Indies, (which none of them will pretend to assert) *this negative evidence can make nothing against the numberless positive and specifick facts mentioned in this Abstract to have fallen under the eyes of the witnesses on the other side.* These positive and specifick instances *must therefore still stand uncontradicted and true.* They must still stand *as having positively happened:* and if but a small part of them only did ever happen, this small part would be a sufficient reason for the Abolition of the Slave-Trade.

# ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

## NAMES OF THE WITNESSES

REVIEWED BY THE

Select Committee of the House of Commons,

ON THE PART OF

The Petitioners of Great Britain

FROM THE

Abolition of the Slave Trade.

---

BAILLIE (George, Esq.) resided 25 years in South Carolina and Georgia, first as a merchant, afterwards as a planter, and then as Commissary General of Georgia. He was in Jamaica also from about December, 1778, to February or March, 1779.—  
[III. \* 181.]

BEVERLEY, (WILLIAM, Esq. Lincoln's Inn) was born in Virginia, and lived there the first 16 years of his life: he returned in 1786, and resided afterwards above two years in different parts of America.—  
[IV. 215.]

\* The Evidence, according to the method in which it was printed for the House of Commons, is divisible into four parts: The Roman Capitals therefore shew the part in which the Evidence of the person is to be found, and the Figures the Page where it begins.

BOTHAM

**BOTHAM, (HENRY, Esq.)** went to the West Indies in 1770, and, in about two years, visited all the islands, English and French, and was employed by Government in Grenada. He directed a sugar estate for a short time in the West Indies; but he carried on sugar works many years at Bencoolen in the East Indies.—[IV. 241.]

**BOWMAN, (Mr. JOHN)** was in the African employ from 1775 to 1776, mostly on the Windward Coast, as third, second, and chief mate. He was also 8 months resident as a factor at the head of the River Sierra Leone, and seventeen or eighteen months at that of the River Scassus in Africa.—[IV. 112.]

**CLAPHAM, (JOHN, Esq.)** was upwards of twenty years in Maryland.—[IV. 249.]

**CLAPPESON, (Mr. THOMAS)** was at Jamaica in 1762 and 1763, and from 1768 to 1778, and from 1786 to 1789. For the first two years he was in the seafaring line, but the rest of the time as wharfinger and pilot.—[IV. 207.]

**CLAXTON, (Mr. ECROIDE)** sailed in the Garland for Africa in 1788, as surgeon's mate, and there, on the Bonny Coast, commenced surgeon to the Young Hero slave-vessel.—[IV. 23.]

**COOK, (Captain)** of the 89th regiment, was in Barbadoes, St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, &c. in 1780 and 1781. [IV. 199.]

**COOK, (Mr. MARK)** arrived in Jamaica in 1774, and left it in 1790; was three years in the planting business; the rest of the time as clerk and schoolmaster there.—[IV. 889.]

**COOR, (HENRY, Gent.)** was in Jamaica fifteen years, ending in 1774, as a mill-wright, chiefly in Westmoreland, but did business in three other parishes. [IV. 69.]

**CREW, (ROBERT, Esq.)** is a native of Virginia, and always resided there till 1783.—[IV. 250.]

**DALRYMPLE, (HENRY HEW, Esq.)** was lieutenant in the 75th regiment, in garrison at Goree, and on various parts of the coast, from May to the end of

September, 1779. He was, on his passage to the West Indies, in a slave-vessel two months. He was three times in the West Indies; in 1773 at Grenada six months; in 1779 and 1780 at Antigua, Barbadoes, Tobago, St. Lucia, and St. Christopher's; and, in 1788, and 1789, at Grenada, Cariacou, St. Vincents, and Tobago.—[III. 291.]

**DAVIES**, (The Rev. Mr.) resided at Barbadoes fourteen years, the three last learning the management of a sugar estate; he left it 21 years ago.—[IV. 125.]

**DAVISON**, (BAKER) lieutenant of the late 79th regiment, was in Jamaica from the middle of 1771 to the end of 1783, except a few months on the Spanish main. He also practised surgery in Jamaica.—[IV. 150.]

**DOVE**, (Mr. WILLIAM) was, in 1769, a voyage to the Coast of Africa for slaves. From 1774 to 1783 he resided at Boston and New-York.—[III. 100.]

**DOUGLAS**, (Mr. JOHN) boatswain of the Russel man of war, was one voyage to the Coast of Africa for slaves in 1771.—[IV. 121.]

**DUNCAN**, (Mr. WILLIAM) was in Antigua from January 1785 to July 1789, first as clerk in a store for six or eight months, afterwards as overseer for about two years and a half. The rest of the time he kept a store for himself.—[IV. 141.]

**ELLISON**, (Mr. HENRY) gunner of the Resistance man of war, was in the slave-trade from 1759 to 1770. He has been in many West India Islands, particularly Barbadoes and Jamaica. He has also been many voyages to Virginia and Maryland, and often on the tobacco plantations while the slaves were at work.—[III. 361.]

**FALCONBRIDGE**, (Mr. ALEXANDER, surgeon,) was four voyages to Africa for slaves, from 1780 or 1781 to 1787. In the first he was taken at Cape mount in the Tartar. The other three were regular voyages. [II. 581.]

**FITZMAURICE**, (Mr. WILLIAM) was in Jamaica from June 1771 to March 1786, as overseer the last ten years,

years, but the former part of the time book-keeper, except for the first six months, when he was clerk to a store in Kingston.—[IV. 205.]

**FORSTER**, (Mr. ROBERT) was in every British island except Jamaica, in all about six years, ending in 1778; the first four years he was apprentice in a store in St. John's, Antigua, the rest of the time a midshipman and second master and pilot of the King's brig Endeavour. He lived among the town slaves, and often went to collect debts, and visit managers in the country. When in the King's ship, he spent much of his time among them.—[IV. 129.]

**GILES**, (Mr. JOHN) farmer, near Hay, Brecknockshire, was in Montserrat from 1757 to 1762, in Grandterre in 1763, in Grenada 1764 and part of 1765, in North America the rest of 1765, in St. Croix from 1774 to 1778.—[IV. 74.]

**GILES**, (Captain) of the 19th regiment of foot, was in Barbadoes, Antigua, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, from June 1782 to April 1790, except about 14 or 15 months in England.—[IV. 103.]

**HALL** (Captain) of the Royal Navy, was at Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands from 1769 to 1773, and from 1780 to 1782 at those places, and at Jamaica and St. Domingo.—[IV. 99.]

**HALL** (Captain JOHN ASHLEY) now in the West India trade from London, was in the African trade from 1772 to 1776 inclusive. He made two voyages to Africa for slaves as third, second, and chief mate.—[II. 513.]

**HARRISON** (M. D.) was upwards of ten years in Jamaica, from 1755 to 1765, and in America from 1765 to 1778, and in the medical line in both.—[IV. 44.]

**HILLS** (Captain JOHN) of the Royal Navy, was at Goree and up the Gambia, as commander of his Majesty's sloop Zephyr, at the end of 1781 and beginning of 1782, in all about six months.—[III. 176.]

**How** (ANTHONY PANTALEO, Esq.) was in Africa in 1785 and 1786, chiefly on the Gold Coast, in the Grampus man of war, employed by government as a botanist.—[III. 219.]

**JACKSON** (ROBERT, M. D.) went to Jamaica in 1774, and resided there four years, chiefly at Savanna-la-Mar, where he practised medicine. His profession led him daily eight or ten or more miles into the country. He has occasionally been in most parts of the island. He went also to America to join his regiment (the 71st) in 1778, with which he went through all the southern provinces.—[III. 54.]

**JEFFREYS**, (Mr. NINIAN) master in the Royal Navy was at Jamaica in 1773, Tobago in 1774; Jamaica 1775, Grenada 1776, Tortola 1779, as mate of a West Indiaman, and employed in taking off sugars from the different estates, but in 1782 Antigua, and St. Kitt's 1783, and at Jamaica a few days in 1784, in the Royal Navy.—(III. 231.)

**KIERNAN**, JAMES, Esq.) was in Africa in 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1778, to learn the nature of the trade, to carry it on. He resided on the River Senegal.—(IV. 237.)

**LLOYD**, (Captain THOMAS) in the Royal Navy, was in the West Indies in 1779. He commanded his Majesty's ship Glasgow, and was burnt out of her in Montego Bay, Jamaica.—[IV. 147.]

**MILLAR**, (Mr. GEORGE) gunner of his Majesty's ship Pegase, has been in Africa. His last voyage was to Old Calabar, in 1767, in the ship Canterbury, Captain Sparkes.—[III. 385.]

**MORLEY**, (Mr. JAMES) gunner of his Majesty's ship Medway, made six voyages to Africa, the first in 1760, the last in 1776. He has been ever since in the king's service. He has visited most parts of Africa, from the beginning of the Gold Coast to Angola.—[III. 149.]

**NEWTON**, (The Rev. JOHN) Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth,

Woolnoth, made five voyages to Africa; in the last, in 1754, he was master of a slave ship. He lived on shore about a year and a half, chiefly at the island of Plantanes, at the mouth of the River Sherbro.—[III. 137.]

**NICHOLLS** (the Rev. ROBERT BOUCHER) Dean of Middleham, Yorkshire, was born in Barbadoes, and resided there some years in his youth, and two years after he was of age, from 1768 to 1770, when in holy orders. In his last residence, he lived on a very large plantation, and observed the management of that and the surrounding estates.—[III. 326.]

**PARKER** (Mr. ISAAC) ship-keeper of the Melampus frigate, sailed in 1764, to the R. Gambia, and in 1765 to Old Calabar. He lived five months on shore, at New Calabar. He has been more than once in the West Indies, in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, the Grenades, &c.—[III. 122.]

**ROOKE** (Major General) was in Africa, at Goree, from May 6, to Aug. 16, 1779.—[III. 45.]

**REES** (the Rev. THOMAS GWYNN) arrived at Barbadoes in the end of 1782, as Chaplain of his Majesty's ship Princess Amelia. During the six weeks he was there, he visited the plantations within four or five miles of Bridge-town. He was between two and three months also at St. Lucia.—[III. 247.]

**Ross** (HERCULES, Esq.) resided from 1761 to 1782, chiefly in Jamaica, and occasionally in Hispaniola. He was in every parish in the former island.—[IV. 252.]

**Ross** (Captain ROBERT) was from 1762 to 1786 in Jamaica. He was for three years and a half a book-keeper, and afterwards an overseer on three estates. He then commanded a company of Rangers for six years. In 1775 he settled a property of his own, and resided on it from 1781 to 1786.—[IV. 63.]

**SAVAGE, JOHN,** (Esq.) resided in Carolina from 1729 to 1775.—[IV. 247.]

**SCOTT,** (Captain ALEXANDER) of the Royal Navy, was from Senegal to C. Coast in his Majesty's ship Merlin, in 1769. He has also been in the West Indies.—[IV. 178.]

**SIMPSON,** (Lieut. JOHN) of the Marines, went out in his Majesty's ship Adventure, and was on the Coast of Africa, chiefly from Settra Crue to Accra, in 1788 and 1789.—[IV. 40.]

**SMITH,** (Captain JOHN SAMUEL) of the Royal Navy, was in the West Indies in 1772, 1777, and 1778, for above a year altogether.—[IV. 136.]

**STOREY,** (Lieut. RICHARD) in the Royal Navy, was from 1766 to 1770, on every part of the Coast, from S. Leone to the R. Gaboon.—[IV. 3.]

**STUART,** (The Rev. JAMES) visited many of the West India islands, English and French, in 1778 and 1779, when he returned to America. He had a 20 years acquaintance with the condition of slaves upon that continent.—[IV. 175.]

**TERRY,** (Mr. JOHN) was in Grenada from 1776 to 1790, the first seven or eight years as an overseer, then a manager \*.—[IV. 107.]

**TERRY,** (Mr MATTHEW) was four years in Dominique as book-keeper and overseer, one at Tobago as land-surveyor, in the King's service, and seven in Grenada, ending in 1781; as a colony surveyor.—[IV. 82.]

**THOMPSON,** (Captain THOMAS BOLTON) of the Royal Navy, was second Lieutenant of the Grampus in 1784, 1785, and 1786, and commanded his Majesty's ship the Nautilus in 1787, in carrying out the black poor to Sierra Leone, where he was from

\* The chief person who superintends a sugar estate, is called in Jamaica the overseer, and in the Windward Islands the manager, where the driver is called overseer.

the beginning of May to the end of September.—  
[III. 167.]

**TOTTENHAM**, (Major-General) went out to the West Indies in 1779, with four regiments under his command. He was about 20 months in Barbadoes, and some time at St. Lucia, St. Kitt's, and St. Eustatius.  
—[III. 125.]

**TOWNE**, (Mr. JAMES) carpenter of his Majesty's ship Syren, made two voyages in 1760 and 1768 to the Isles de Los and Grand Cape Mount. In the first he was between seven and eight months on the coast as a boy; in the second, as carpenter, he staid more than six months.—[IV. 15.]

**TROTTER**, (THOMAS, M. D.) surgeon in the Royal Navy, was a voyage in the African slave-trade, from Liverpool, in 1783, as surgeon of the Brookes, Captain Noble. He was ten months on the coast.  
[III. 80.]

**WADSTROM**, (CHARLES BURNS, Esq.) Chief Director of the Assay Office in Sweden, was in Africa near three months, in 1787 and 1788, with Doctor Spaarman, engaged by the King of Sweden to make discoveries.—[III. 18, & 19.]

**WILSON**, (Captain THOMAS) of the Royal Navy, was between five and six months in Africa, between Cape Blanco and the River Gambia, in 1783 and 1784, as commander of his Majesty's ship Racehorse: he was sent out to embark the troops and stores from Goree.—[III. 3, & 4.]

**WILSON**, (Mr. ISAAC) surgeon in the Navy, made one voyage to Africa in the Elizabeth, Smith, from London. He sailed the 10th of May, 1788, and returned 6th of December, 1789.—[II. 561.]

**WOODWARD**, (GEORGE, Esq.) is both an owner and mortgagee of property in Barbadoes, where he resided in 1782 and 1783, and was also there in 1777.  
—[IV. 233.]

**WOODWARD**, (Mr. JOSEPH) was in Barbadoes in 1788, 1789, and 1790.—[IV. 230.]

WOOLRICH,

WOOLRICH, (THOMAS, Esq.) was in the West Indies from 1753 to 1773; but in the interim took three trips to England, and two to America; he was in the mercantile line, chiefly at Tortola. He was also occasionally at Barbadoes, Antigua, and St. Kitt's.— III. 264.]

YOUNG, (Sir GEORGE) Captain in the Royal Navy, was four voyages to Africa, in 1767, 1768, 1771, and 1772, from Cape Blanco to Cape Lopez, including every English settlement, and some Dutch. [III. 205].

CHAP.

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## C H A P. I.

*The Enormities committed by the Natives of Africa on the Persons of one another, to procure Slaves for the Europeans—proved by the Testimony of such as have visited that Continent,—and confirmed by Accounts from the Slaves themselves, after their arrival in the West Indies.*

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THE Trade for Slaves, (says Mr. Kiernan) in the River Senegal, was chiefly with the Moors, on the Northern banks, who got them very often by war, and not seldom by kidnapping; that is, lying in wait near a village, where there was *no open war*, and seizing whom they could.

He has often heard of villages, and seen the remains of such, broken up by making the people slaves.

That the Moors used to cross the Senegal *to catch* the negroes was spoken of at Fort Louis as notorious; and he has seen instances of it where the persons so taken were ransomed.

General Rooke says, that kidnapping took place in the neighbourhood of Goree. It was spoken of as a common practice. It was reckoned disgraceful there, but he cannot speak of the opinion about it on the Continent. He remembers two or three instances of negroes being brought to Goree, who had been kidnapped, but he could not discover by whom. At their own request he immediately sent them back.

Mr. Dalrymple found that the great droves (called Caffellas or Caravans) of slaves brought from inland, by way of Galam, to Senegal and Gambia, were prisoners of war. Those sold to vessels at Goree, and near it, were procured either by the grand pillage, the lesser pillage,

pillage, or by robbery of individuals, or in consequence of crimes. The grand pillage is executed by the king's soldiers, from three hundred to three thousand at a time, who attack and set fire to a village, and seize the inhabitants as they can. The smaller parties generally lie in wait about the villages, and take off all they can surprise, which is also done by individuals, who do not belong to the king, but are private robbers. These sell their prey on the coast, where it is well known no questions as to the means of obtaining it are asked.

As to kidnapping it is so notorious about Goree, that he never heard any person deny it there. Two men while he was there, offered a person, a messenger from Senegal to Rufisco, for sale, to the garrison, who even boasted how they had obtained him. Many also were brought to Goree while he was there, procured in the same manner.

These depredations are also practised by the Moors : he saw many slaves in Africa who told him they were taken by them ; particularly three, one of whom was a woman, who cried very much, and seemed to be in great distress ; the two others were more reconciled to their fate.

Captain Wilson says, that slaves are either procured by intestine wars, or kings breaking up villages, or crimes real or imputed, or kidnapping.

Villages are broken up by the king's troops surrounding them in the night, and seizing such of the inhabitants as suit their purpose. This practice is most common when there is no war with another state.

It is universally acknowledged that free persons are sold for real or imputed crimes, for the benefit of their judges.

Soon after his arrival at Goree, king Damel sent a free man to him for sale, and was to have the price himself. One of the king's guards being asked whether the man was guilty of the crime imputed to him, answered, that was of no consequence, or ever inquired into. Captain Wilson returned the man.

Kidnapping was acknowledged by all he conversed with to be generally prevalent. It is the first principle of the natives, the principle of self-preservation, never

to go unarmed, while a slave vessel is on the coast, for fear of being stolen. When he has met with them thus armed, and inquired of them, through his interpreter, the reason of it, they have pointed to a French slave-vessel then lying at Portudal, and said their fears arose from that quarter. As a positive instance, he says, a courier of Captain Lacy's, his predecessor, though a Moor, a free man, and one who spoke the French language fluently, was kidnapped as he was travelling on the Continent with dispatches on his Britannick Majesty's account, and sold to a French vessel, from which he, Captain Wilson, after much trouble, actually got him back.

When he presided in a court at Goree, a Maraboo swore, with an energy which evinced the truth of his evidence, that his brother, another Maraboo, had been kidnapped in the act of drinking, a moment known to be sacred by their religion, at the instigation of a former governor, who had taken a dislike to him. This was a matter notorious at Goree.

Mr. Wadstrom knows slaves to be procured between Senegal and Gambia, either by the general pillage or by robbery by individuals, or by stratagem and deceit.

The general pillage is executed by the king's troops on horseback, armed, who seize the unprepared. Mr. Wadstrom, during the week he was at Joal, accompanying one of those embassies which the French governor sends yearly with presents to the black kings, to keep up the slave trade, saw parties sent out for this purpose, by king Barbesin, almost every day. These parties went out generally in the evening, and were armed with bows and arrows, guns, pistols, sabres, and long lances.

The king of Sallum practises the pillage also. Mr. Wadstrom saw twenty seven slaves from Sallum, twenty-three of whom were women and children, thus taken.

He was told also by merchants at Goree, that king Damel practises the pillage in like manner.

Robbery was a general way of taking single slaves. He once saw a woman and a boy in the slave-hold at Goree; the latter had been taken by stealth from his parents in

the

the interior parts above Cape Rouge, and he declared, that such robberies were very frequent in his country ; the former, at Rufisco, from her husband and children. He could state *several instances* of such robberies. He very often saw negroes thus taken brought to Goree. Ganna of Dacard was a noted *man-stealer*, and employed as such by the slave merchants there.

As instances of stratagem employed to obtain slaves, he relates, that a French merchant taking a fancy to a negro, who was on a visit at Dacard, persuaded the village, for a certain price, to seize him. He was accordingly taken from his wife, who wished to accompany him, but the Frenchman had not merchandize enough to buy both. Mr. Wadstrom saw this negro at Goree, the day he arrived from Dacard, chained, and lying on the ground, exceedingly distressed in his mind.

The king of Sallum also prevailed on a woman to come into his kingdom, and sell him some millet. On her arrival, he seized and sold her to a French officer, with whom Mr. Wadstrom saw this woman every day while at Goree.

Mr. Wadstrom was on the island of St. Louis, up the Senegal also, and on the continent near the river, and says, that all the slaves sold at Senegal, are brought down the river, except those taken by the *robbery* of the Moors in the neighbourhood, which is sometimes conducted by large parties, in what are called *petty wars*.

Captain Hills saw while lying between Goree and the continent, the natives, in an evening, often go out in war dresses, as he found to obtain slaves for king Damel, to be sold. The reason was, that the king was then poor, not having received his usual dues from us. He never saw the parties that went out return with slaves, but has often seen slaves in their huts tied back to back. He remembers also, that some robbers once brought him a man bound on board the Zephir, to sell, but he, Capt. Hills, would not buy him, but suffered him to escape.

The natives on the continent opposite to Goree *all go armed*, he imagines for fear of being taken.

When

When in the River Gambia, wanting servants on board his ship, he expressed a wish for some volunteers. A black pilot in the boat called two boys who were on shore carrying baskets of shallots, and asked Capt. Hills if they *would do*, in which case he would *take them off*, and bring them to him. This he declined. From the ease with which the pilot did it, he concludes this was customary.

The black pilot said the *merchantmen* would not refuse such an offer. He apprehends these two boys were *free people*, from the pilot's mode of speaking, and from his winking, implying, it was an illicit thing.

A boy, whom he bought from the merchants in the same river, had been carried in the night from his father's house, where a skirmish happened, in which he believes he said both his parents, but he well remembers, one were killed. The boy said many were killed, and some taken.

Mr. Ellison spoke the Mundingo language, in consequence of which he has often conversed with slaves from the Gambia, to which river he made three voyages, and they universally informed him, that they had been *sold* and sold.

The natives up the river Scassus informed Mr. Bowman, that they had got two women and a girl, whom they then brought him, in a small town which they had surprized in the night; and others had got off, but they expected the rest of the party would bring them in, in two or three days. When these arrived, they brought with them two men whom Mr. Bowman knew and had traded with formerly; upon questioning them, he discovered the women he had bought to be their wives. Both men and women informed him, that the war-men had taken them *while asleep*.

The war-men used to go out, Mr. Bowman says, once or twice in eight or ten days, while he was at Scassus. It was their constant way of getting slaves, he believed, because they always came to the factory before setting out, and demanded powder, ball, gun flints, and small shot; also rum, tobacco, and a few other articles. When supplied, they blew the horn, and made the war-cry, and

set off. If they met with no slaves, they would bring him some ivory and camwood. Sometimes he accompanied them a mile or so, and he once joined the party, anxious to know by what means they obtained the slaves. Having travelled all day, they came to a small river, when he was told they had but a little way farther to go. Having crossed the river, they stopped till dark. Here Mr. Bowman, (it was about the middle of the night) was afraid to go farther, and prevailed on the king's son to leave him a guard of four men. In half an hour he heard the war-cry, by which he understood they had reached the town. In about half an hour more they returned, bringing from twenty-five to thirty men, women, and children, some at the breast. At this time he saw the town *in flames*. When they had re-crossed the river, it was just day-light, and they reached Scassus about mid-day. The prisoners were carried to different parts of the town. They are usually brought in with strings around their necks, and some have their hands tied across. He never saw any slaves there who had been convicted of crimes.

He has been called up in the night to see fires, and told by the town's people, *that it was war carrying on*.

Whatever rivers he has traded in, such as Sierra Leone, Junk, and little Cape Mount, he has usually passed burnt and deserted villages, and learned from the natives in the boat with him, that *war had been there, and the natives had been taken in the manner as before described, and carried to the ships*.

He has also seen such upon the *Coast*: while trading at Grand Baffau, he went on shore with four black traders to the town a mile off. In the way, there was a town deserted, with only two or three houses standing, which seemed to have been a large one, as there were two fine plantations of rice ready for cutting down. A little further on they came to another village in much the same state. He was told the first town had been taken by war, there being many ships then lying at Baffau; the people of the other had moved higher up in the country for fear of the white men. In passing along to the

the trader's town he saw several villages deserted ; these the natives said had been destroyed by war, and the people taken out and sold.

Sir George Young found slaves to be procured by war, by crimes, *real or imputed*, by kidnapping, which is called *panyaring*, and a fourth mode was the inhabitants of one village seizing those of another weaker village, and selling them to the ships.

He believes, from two instances, that kidnapping was frequently practised up Sierra Leone River. One was that of a beautiful infant boy, which the natives after trying to sell to all the different trading ships, came along side his, (the Phenix) and threatened to toss overboard, if no one would buy it ; saying they had *panyared* it with many other people, but could not sell it, though they had sold the others. He purchased it for some wine.

The second was, a captain of a Liverpool ship had got as a temporary mistress, a girl from the king of Sierra Leone, and instead of returning her on shore on leaving the coast, as is usually done, he took her away with him. Of this the king complained to Sir George Young very heavily, calling this action *panyaring* by the whites.

The term *panyaring*, seemed to be a word generally used all along the coast where he was, not only among the English, but the Portuguese and Dutch.

Captain Thompson also says, that at Sierra Leone he has often heard the word *panyaring* ; he has heard also that this word, which is used on other parts of the coast, means *kidnapping*, or seizing of men.

Slaves, says Mr. Town, are brought from the country very distant from the coast. The king of Barra informed Mr. Town, that on the arrival of a ship, he has gone three hundred miles up the country with his guards, and driven down captives to the sea-side. From Marraba, king of the Mundingoes, he has heard that they had marched slaves out of the country some hundred miles ; that they had gone wood-ranging, to pick up every one they met with, whom they stripped naked, and, if men, bound ; but if women, brought down

loose: this he had from themselves, and also, that they often went to war with the Bullam nation, *on purpose to get slaves.* They boasted that they should soon have a fine parcel for the shallop, and the success often answered. Mr. Town has seen the prisoners (the men bound, the women and children loose) driven for sale to the water-side. He has also known the natives go in gangs, *marauding* and catching all they could. In the Galenas River he knew four blacks seize a man who had been to the sea-side to sell one or more slaves. This man was returning home with the goods he had received in exchange for these, and they plundered and stripped him naked, and brought him to the trading shallop, which Mr. Town commanded, and sold him there.

He believes the natives also sometimes become slaves, in consequence of crimes, as well as, that it is no uncommon thing on the coast, to *impute crimes falsely for the sake of selling the persons so accused.* Several respectable persons at Bance island, and to windward of it, all told Mr. Town that it was common to bring on \* *palavers to make slaves,* and he believes it from the information of the slaves afterwards, when brought down the country, and put on board the ships.

Off Piccaninni Sestus, farther down on the windward coast, Mr. Dove observed an instance of a girl being kidnapped, and brought on board, by one Ben Johnson, a black trader, who had scarcely left the ship in his canoe, with the price of her, when another canoe with two black men came in a hurry to the ship, and inquired concerning this girl. Having been allowed to see her, they hurried down to their canoe, and hastily paddled off. Overtaking Ben Johnson, they brought him back to the ship, got him on the quarter-deck, and calling him *teefee* (which implies *thief*) to the captain, offered him for sale. Ben Johnson remonstrated, asking the captain, " if he would buy him whom he knew to be a grand trading man :" to which the cap-

\* An African word, which signifies conferences of the natives on any publick subject, or as in this place, *accusations and trials.*

tain answered, " if they would sell him, he would certainly buy him, be he what he would," which he accordingly did, and put him into irons immediately with another man. He was led to think, from this instance, that kidnapping was the mode of obtaining slaves upon this part of the coast.

Lieutenant Storey says, that slaves are generally obtained on the Windward coast by marauding parties, from one village to another in the night. He has known canoes come from a distance, and carry off numbers in the night. He has gone into the interior country, between Bassau and the River Sestus ; and all the nations there go armed, from the fear of marauding parties, whose pillages in these countries are termed war.

At one time in particular, while Mr. Storey was on the coast, a marauding party from Grand Sestus came in canoes, and attacked Grand Cora in the night, and took off twelve or fourteen of the inhabitants. The canoes of Grand Sestus carry twelve or fourteen men, and with these go a marauding among their neighbours. Mr. Storey has often seen them at sea out of sight of land in the day, and taking the opportunity of night to land where they pleased.

Mr. Falconbridge supposes the slave trade; on these parts to be chiefly supplied by kidnapping. On his second voyage, at Cape Mount and the Windward Coast, a man was brought on board, well known to the captain and his officers, and was purchased. This man said he had been invited one evening to drink with his neighbours. When about to depart, two of them got up to seize him ; and he would have escaped, but he was stopped by a large dog. He said this mode of kidnapping was common in his country..

In the same voyage, two black traders came in a canoe, and informed the captain there was trade a little lower down. The captain went there, and finding no trade, said he would not be made a fool, and therefore detained one of the canoe-men. In about two hours afterwards a very fine man was brought on board, and sold, and the canoe-man was released. He was informed

by the black pilot, that this man had been surrounded and seized on the beach, from whence he had been brought to the ship and sold.

Lieutenant Simpson says, from what he saw, he believes the slave trade is the occasion of wars among the natives. From the natives of the Windward Coast he understood that the villages were always at war; and the black traders and others gave as a reason for it, *that the kings wanted slaves*. If a trading canoe, along-side Mr. Simpson's ship, saw a larger canoe coming from a village they were at war with, they instantly fled; and sometimes without receiving the value of their goods. On inquiry, he learned their reasons to be, that if taken they would have been made slaves.

Mr. How states, that when at Secundee, some order came from Cape Coast Castle. The same afternoon several parties went out *armed*, and returned the same night with a number of slaves, which were put into the repository of the factory. Next morning he saw people, who came to see the captives, and to request Mr. Marsh, the resident, to release some of their children and relations. Some were released, and part sent off to Cape Coast Castle. He had every reason to believe they had been obtained *unfairly*, as they came at an unseasonable time of the night, and from their parents and friends crying and begging their release. He was told as much from Mr. Marsh himself, who said, *he did not mind how they got them, for he purchased them fairly*. He cannot tell whether this practice subsisted before; but when he has gone into the woods he has met thirty or forty natives, who fled always at his appearance, although they were armed. Mr. Marsh said, they were afraid of his taking them prisoners.

The same Mr. Marsh made no scruple also of shewing him the stores of the factory. They consisted of different kinds of chains made of iron, as likewise an instrument made of wood, about five inches long, and an inch in diameter, or less, which he was told by Mr. Marsh was thrust into a man's mouth horizontally, and tied behind

*to prevent him from crying out, when transported at night along the country.*

Dr. Trotter says, that the natives of these parts are sometimes slaves from crimes, but the greater part of the slaves are, *what are called* prisoners of war. Of his whole cargo he recollects only three criminals; two fold for adultery, and one for witchcraft, whose whole family shared his fate. One of the first said he had been *decoyed* by a woman who had told her husband, and he was sentenced to pay a slave; *but being poor, was sold himself.* Such stratagems are frequent; the fourth mate of Dr. Trotter's ship was so decoyed, and obliged to pay a slave, under the threat of stopping trade. The last said he had had a quarrel with a Cabosheer, or great man, who in revenge accused him of witchcraft, and sold him and his family for slaves.

Dr. Trotter having often asked Accra, a principal trader at Le Hou, what he meant by *prisoners of war*, found they were such as were carried off by a set of marauders, who ravage the country for that purpose. The bush-men *making war to make trade* (that is to *make slaves*) was a common way of speaking among the traders. The practice was also confirmed by the slaves on board, who shewed by gestures how the robbers had come upon them: and during their passage from Africa to the West Indies, some of the boy-slaves played a game, which they called *slave-taking*, or bush-fighting; shewing the different manoeuvres thereof in leaping, falling, and retreating. Inquiries of this nature put to women, were answered only by *violent bursts of sorrow*.

He once saw a black trader send his canoe to take three fishermen employed in the offing, who were immediately brought on board, and put in irons, and about a week afterwards he was paid for them. He remembers another man taken in the same way from on board a canoe along-side. *The same trader very frequently sent slaves on board in the night*, which, from their own information, he found, were every one of them taken in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe. He remarked, that slaves sent off in the night, were not paid for till they had been

been some time on board, lest, he thinks, they should be claimed ; for some were really restored, one in particular, a boy, was carried on shore by some near relations, which boy told him, he had lived in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, and was kidnapped.

There were many boys and girls on board Dr. Trotter's ship, who had no relations on board. Many of them told him they had been kidnapped in the neighbourhood of Annamaboe, particularly a girl of about eight years old, who said she had been carried off from her mother by the man who sold her to the ship.

Mr. Falconbridge was assured by the Rev. Philip Quakoo, chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, on the Gold Coast, that the greatest number of slaves were made by kidnapping.

He has heard that the great men on this part of the coast, dress up and employ women to entice young men to be connected with them, that they may be convicted of adultery and sold.

Lieutenant Simpson heard at Cape Coast Castle, and other parts of the Gold Coast, repeatedly from the black traders, that the slave-trade made wars and palavers. Mr. Quakoo, chaplain at Cape Coast Castle, informed him, that wars were made in the interior parts, for the sole purpose of getting slaves.

There are two crimes on the Gold Coast, which seem made on purpose to procure slaves ; adultery and the removal of fetiches \*. As to adultery, he was warned against connecting himself with any woman not pointed out to him, for that the kings kept several who were sent out to allure the unwary, and that, if found to be connected with these, he would be seized, and made to pay the price of a man slave. As to fetiches, consisting of pieces of wood, old pitchers, kettles, and the like, laid in the path-ways, he was warned to avoid displacing them, for if he should, the natives, who were on the watch, would seize him, and, as before, exact the price.

\* Certain things of various sorts, to which the superstition of the country has ordered, for various reasons, an attention to be paid.

of a man slave. These baits are laid equally for natives and Europeans; but the former are better acquainted with the law, and consequently more upon their guard.

Mr. Ellison says, that while one of the ships he belonged to, viz. the Briton, was lying in Benin river Captain Lemma Lemma, a Benin trader, came on board to receive his customs. This man being on the deck and happening to see a canoe with three people in it, crossing the river, dispatched one of his own canoes to seize and take it. Upon overtaking it, they brought it to the ship. It contained three persons, an old man, and a young man and woman. The chief mate bought the two latter, but the former being too old, was refused. Upon this, Lemma ordered the old man into the canoe, where his head was chopped off, and he was thrown over-board. Lemma had many war canoes, some of which had six or eight swivels; he seemed to be feared by the rest of the natives. Mr. Ellison did not see a canoe out on the river while Lemma was there, except this, and if they had known he had been out, they would not have come. He discovered by signs, that the old man killed was the father of the two other negroes, and that they were brought there by force. They were not the subjects of Lemma.

At Bonny, says Mr. Falconbridge, the greatest number of slaves come from inland. Large canoes, some having a three or four pounder lashed on their bows, go to the up-country, and in eight or ten days return with great numbers of slaves: he heard once, to the amount of twelve hundred at one time. The people in these canoes have generally cutlasses, and a quantity of muskets, but he cannot tell for what use.

Mr. Falconbridge does not believe that many of these slaves are prisoners of war, *as we understand the word war.* In Africa, *a piratical expedition for making slaves,* is termed *war.* A considerable trader at Bonny explained to him the meaning of this word, and said, that they went in the night, set fire to towns, and caught the people as they fled from the flames. The same trader said, that this practice was very common.

Mr.

Mr. Falconbridge says also, that in his third voyage, which was to Bonny, a woman was brought on board big with child. As she attracted his notice, he asked her, by means of the interpreter, how she came to be sold. Her reply was, that returning home from a visit, she was seized, and after being passed through various hands, was brought down to the water-side, and sold to a trader, who afterwards sold her to the ship.

In the same voyage an elderly man brought on board said, (through the interpreter,) that he and his son were seized as they were planting yams, by professed kidnappers; by which, he means persons who *make kidnapping their constant practice*.

On his last voyage, which was also to Bonny, a canoe came along-side his vessel, belonging to a noted trader in slaves, from which a fine stout fellow was handed on board, and sold. Mr. Falconbridge seeing the man amazed and confounded when he discovered himself to be a slave, inquired of him, by means of an interpreter, why he was sold. He replied, that he had had occasion to come to Bonny to this trader's house, who asked if he had ever seen a ship: replying no, the trader said, he would treat him with the sight of one. The man consenting, said he was thereupon brought on board, and thus treacherously sold. All the slaves Mr. Falconbridge ever talked to by means of interpreters, said they had been stolen.

Mr. Douglas, when ashore at Bonny Point, saw a young woman come out of the wood to the water-side to bathe. Soon afterwards two men came from the wood, seized, bound, and beat her for making resistance, and bringing her to him, Mr. Douglas desired them to put her on board, which they did; the captain's orders were; when any body brought down slaves, instantly to put them off to the ship.

When a ship arrives at Bonny, the king sends his war canoes up the rivers, where they surprise all they can lay hold of. They had a young man on board, who was thus captured, with his father, mother, and three sisters. The young man afterwards in Jamaica having learnt English,

English, told Mr. Douglas the story, and said it was a common practice. These war canoes are *always* armed. The king's canoes came with slaves openly in the day ; others in the evening, with one or two slaves bound, lying in the boat's bottom, covered with mats.

Mr. Morley states, that in Old Calabar persons are sold as slaves for adultery and theft. *On pretence of adultery*, he remembers a woman sold.

He has been told also by the natives at Calabar, that they took slaves *in what they call war*, which he found was *putting the villages in confusion, and catching them as they could*. A man on board the ship he was in, shewed how he was taken at night by surprize, and said his wife and children were taken with him, but they were not in the same ship. Mr. Morley had reason to think, from the man's words, that they took nearly the whole village, that is, all those that could not get away.

Capt. Hall says, when a ship arrives at Old Calabar, or the River Del-Rey, the traders always go up into the country for slaves. They go in their war canoes, and take with them some goods, which they get previously from the ships.

He has seen from three to ten canoes in a fleet, each with from forty to sixty paddlers, and twenty to thirty traders and other people with muskets, suppose one to each man, with a three or four pounder lashed on the bow of the canoe. They are generally absent from ten days to three weeks, when they return with a number of slaves pinioned, or chained together.

Captain Hall has often asked the mode of procuring slaves inland, and has been told by the traders, that they have been got in war, and sold by the persons taking them.

Mr. J. Parker says, he left the ship to which he belonged at Old Calabar, where being kindly received by the king's son, he staid with him on the continent for five months. During this time he was prevailed upon by the king's son to accompany him to war \*. Accordingly,

\* The reader is earnestly requested to take notice, that the word *war*, as adopted into the African language, means in general *robbery*, or *a marauding*

ingly, having fitted out and armed the canoes, they went up the river Calabar. In the day time they lay under the bushes when they approached a village, but at night flew up to it, and took hold of every one they could see; these they handcuffed, brought down to the canoes, and so proceeded up the river till they got to the amount of forty-five, with whom they returned to New Town, where sending to the captains of the shipping, they divided them among the ships.

About a fortnight after this expedition, they went again, and were out eight or nine days, plundering other villages higher up the river. They seized on much the same number as before, brought them to New-Town, gave the same notice, and disposed of them as before among the ships.

They took man, woman, and child, as they could catch them in the houses, and except sucking children, who went with their mothers, there was no care taken to prevent the separation of the children from the parents when sold. When sold to the English merchants they lamented, and cried that they were taken away by force.

The king at Old Calabar was certainly not at war with the people up this river, nor had they made any attack upon him. It happened that slaves were very slack in the back country at that time, and were wanted when he went on these expeditions.

Mr. Falconbridge thinks crimes are falsely imputed, *for the sake of selling the accused*. On the second voyage at the River Ambris, among the slaves brought on board was one who had the craw craw, a kind of itch. He was told by one of the sailors, that this man was fishing in the river, when a king's officer, called Mambooka, wanted brandy and other goods in the boat, but having no slave to buy them with, accused this man of extortion in the

*rauding expedition, for the purpose of getting slaves.* Two noted black traders are found themselves to have explained the term to two of the evidences (Trotter, p. 11. Falconbridge, p. 14.) and it appears decidedly by the accounts of Wadstrom, Town, Bowman, Storey, Morley, and J. Parker, that the catching of men is denominated by the Africans to be *wars*.

Sale

*sale of his fish*, and after some kind of trial on the beach, condemned him to be sold. He was told this by the boat's crew, who were ashore when it happened, who told it as of their own knowledge.

Besides the accounts just given, from what the above witnesses saw and heard on the Coast of Africa, as to the different methods of making slaves, there are others contained in the evidence, which were learnt from the mouths of the slaves themselves, after their arrival in the West Indies.

Some of these have informed several of the witnesses on this occasion, that they were taken in war, (Hall and Woolrich) others, that they were taken by surprise in their towns, or while at work in their fields, (Hall) or as they were straggling from their huts, or cultivating their lands, (Dalrymple) or tending their corn (Woolrich): others, that they were taken by armed canoes up the rivers, (Douglas) others, by stratagem, (Cook) or kidnapped, (Rev. Mr. Davies, Dean of Middleham, Mr. Fitzmaurice) which kidnapping prevailed in the inland parts at a great distance from the shore, (Dr. Harrison) and was with some a professed occupation, and a common practice (Falconbridge and Clapperton.)

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## C H A P. II.

*Europeans, by means of the Trade in Slaves, the occasion of these Enormities.—Sometimes use additional Means to excite the Natives to practise them.—Often attempt themselves to steal the Natives, and succeed.—Force Trade as they please, and are guilty of Injustice in their Dealings,*

**T**HE Moors (says Mr. Kiernan) have always a strong inducement to go to war with the negroes, most of the European goods they obtain, being got in exchange for slaves. Hence desolation and waste.

Mr. Towne observes, that the intercourse of the Africans with the Europeans, has improved them in roguery, to plunder and steal, and pick up one another to sell.

Dr. Trotter asking a black trader, what they made of their slaves when the French and English were at war, was answered, that when ships ceased to come, slaves ceased to be taken.

Mr. Isaac Parker says, that the king of Old Calabar was certainly not at war with the people up that river, nor had they made any attack on him. It happened that slaves were very slack in the back country at this time, and were wanted when he went on the expeditions, described in a former page (p. 16.)

Mr. Wadstrom says, that king Barbesin, while he, Mr. Wadstrom, was at Joal, was unwilling to pillage his subjects, but he was excited to it by means of a constant intoxication, kept up by the French and Mulattoes of the embassy, who generally agreed every morning on taking this method to effect their purpose. When sober, he always expressed a reluctance to harm his people. Mr. Wadstrom also heard the king hold the same language on different days; and yet he afterwards ordered the pillage to be executed. Mr. Wadstrom has no doubt, but that he also pillages in other parts of his dominions, since it is the custom of mulatto merchants (as both they and the French officers declare) when they want slaves to go to the kings, and excite them to pillages, which are usually practised on all that part of the coast.

The French Senegal company also, in order to obtain their compliment of slaves, had recourse to their usual method on similar occasions, namely of bribing the Moors, and supplying them with arms and ammunition, to seize king Dalmammy's subjects. By January 12th, 1788, when Mr. Wadstrom arrived at Senegal, fifty had been taken, whom the king desired to ransom, but they had been all dispatched to Cayenne. Some were brought in every day afterwards, and put in the company's slave-hold; in a miserable state, the greater part being badly wounded by sabres and musket balls. The director of the company conducted Mr. Wadstrom there, with Dr. Spaarman

Spaarmann, whom he consulted as a medical man in their behalf. Mr. Wadstrom particularly remembers one lying in his blood, which flowed from a wound made by a ball in his shoulder.

Mr. Dalrymple understood it common for European traders to advance goods to chiefs, to induce them to seize their subjects or neighbours. Not one of the Mulatto traders at Goree ever thought of denying it.

Mr. Bowman having settled at the head of Scassus River, informed the king, and others, that he was come to reside as a trader, and that his orders were, to supply them with powder and ball, and to encourage them to go to war. They answered they would go to war in two or three days. By this time they came to the factory, said they were going to war, and wanted powder, ball, rum, and tobacco. When these were given them, they went off to the number of from twenty-five to thirty, and in six or seven days, a part of them returned with three slaves.

In 1769, (says Lieut. Storey) Captain Paterson, of a Liverpool ship, lying off Bristol Town, set two villages at variance, and bought prisoners, near a dozen, from both sides.

Mr. Morley owns, with shame, that he has made the natives drunk, in order to buy a good man or woman slave, to whom he found them attached. He has seen this done by others. Captain Hildebrand, commanding a sloop of Mr. Brue's, bought one of the wives of a man, whom he had previously made drunk, and who wished to redeem her, when sober next day, as did the person he (Mr. Morley) bought the man of, but neither of them was given up. He supposes they would have given a third more than the price paid, to have redeemed them.

Sir George Young says, that when at Annamaboe, at Mr. Brue's; (a very great merchant there) Mr. Brue had two hostages, king's sons, for payment for arms, and all kinds of military stores, which he had supplied to the two kings, who were at war with each other, to procure slaves for at least six or seven ships, then lying in the road. The prisoners on both sides were brought down to Mr. Brue, and sent to the ships.

that there were no depredations except in their last voyages. He has known Liverpool and Bristol ships materially injured from the conduct of some ships, from the same ports, that had left the coast. It is a fact that some captains have committed depredations in their last voyages who have not been known to have done it before.

Mr. Towne was once present with part of the crew of his ship the Sally, at an expedition undertaken by the whites for seizing negroes, and joined by other boats to receive those they could catch. To prevent all alarm, they bound the mouths of the captives, with oakum and handkerchiefs. One woman shrieked and the natives turned out in defence. He had then five of them tied in the boat, and the other boats were in readiness to take in what more they could get. All his party were armed, and the men of the town pursued them with first a scattering, and at length a general, fire, and several of the men belonging to the boats, he has reason to believe, were killed, wounded, or taken, as he never heard of them afterwards. He was wounded himself. The slaves he had taken were sold at Charlestown, South Carolina. The natives had not previously committed any hostilities against any of the ships, whose boats were concerned in this transaction. They owed goods to the captain, for which he resolved to obtain slaves at any rate. He has had several ship-mates, who have themselves told him, they have been concerned in similar transactions, and have made a boast of it, and who have been wounded also.

Mr. Falconbridge was informed by Captain Gould of the Alert, that he had carried off a man from Little Cape Mount.

Mr. Storey believes the natives of the Windward Coast are often fraudulently carried off by the Europeans. He has been told by them, that they had lost their friends at different times, and supposed them taken by European ships going along the coast. He has himself taken up canoes at sea, which were challenged by the natives, who supposed the men in them had been taken off the day before by a Dutchman.

When once at an anchor, in his boat, between the river Sestus and Settra Crue, he prevented the crew of a long-boat, belonging to a Dutchman then lying off shore, from being cut off by the natives, who gave as a reason for their intentions, that a ship of that country some days before had taken off four men belonging to the place.

Afterwards, in 1768, being in a boat, with two other white persons, the natives attacked them. Both the former were killed, and he himself, covered with blood and wounds, was only suffered to escape, by consenting to give up boat and cargo, and to go to Gaboon. The reason the natives gave for this procedure was, that a ship from Liverpool (one Captain Lambert) had, some time before, *taken a canoe full of their townsmen, and carried her away.* He heard the same thing confirmed afterwards at Gaboon.

Mr. Douglas states, that near Cape Coast the natives make smoke as a signal for trade. On board his ship (the Warwick Castle) they saw the smoke and stood in shore, which brought off many canoes. Pipes, tobacco, and brandy, were got on deck, *to entice the people in them on board.* The gratings were unlaid, the slave-room cleared, and every preparation made to seize them; two only could be prevailed on to come up the ship's side, who stood in the main chains, but on the seamen approaching them they jumped off, and the canoes all made for shore.

The Gregson's people, while at Bonny, informed Mr. Douglas that in running down the coast, they had kidnapped thirty-two of the natives. He saw slaves on board that ship when she came in, and it *is not customary* for ships bound to Bonny, to stop and trade by the way.

Mr. How says, that abreast of Cape La Hou, several canoes came alongside of His Majesty's ship Grampus, and on coming on board informed the captain, that an English Guinea trader a fortnight before had taken off six canoes with men, who had gone off to them with provisions for trade. On coming to Appolonia he was also told by Mr. Buchanan, the resident there, that a Guineaman,

Guineaman, belonging to one Griffith, an Englishman, and a notorious trader and kidnapper, between Cape La Hou and Appolonia, was then in that latitude.

Captain Hall was told by Capt. Jeremiah Smith, that in 1771, a Captain Fox had taken off some people from the Windward Coast.

He says also, that the boat's crew of the Venus, Captain Smith, which had been sent to Fernandipo for yams from Calabar, enticed a canoe to come alongside that had about ten men in her. As soon as she got near, the boat's crew fired into her, on which they jumped overboard: some were wounded, and one was taken out of the water, and died in less than an hour in the boat: two others were taken up unhurt, and carried to Old Calabar to the ship. Captain Smith was angry at the officer for this procedure, and sent back the two men to the bay, from whence they had been taken. Immediately after the boat had committed this depredation, Captain Hall happened to go into the same bay in his own ship's long-boat, and sending on shore two men to fill water, they were surrounded by the natives, who drove three spears into one of the men, and wounded the other with a large stick, in consequence of taking away the two men just mentioned. It was said that the crew had disputed with the natives on shore when trading with them for yams, but the former had not done any of the boat's crew any injury.

Mr. Ellison knew two slaves taken from the island of Fernandipo by the Dobson's boat of Liverpool, and carried to Old Calabar, where the ship lay. He went to the same island for yams, a few days after the transaction, and fired, as the usual signal, for the natives to bring them. Seeing some of them peep through the bushes, he wondered why they would not come to the boat. He accordingly swam on shore, when some of the islanders came round him: an old man shewed, by signs, that a ship's boat had stolen a man and woman. He was then soon surrounded by numbers, who presented darts to him, signifying they would kill him, if the man and woman were not brought back. Upon this, the people in the boat

boat fired some shot, when they all ran into the woods. Mr. Ellison went to Calabar, and told Captain Briggs he could get no yams, in consequence of the two people being stolen; upon which Capt. Briggs told the captain of the Dobson, there would be no more trade if he did not deliver up the people, which he at length did. As soon as the natives saw their countrymen, they loaded the boat with yams, goats, fowls, honey, and palm-wine: and they would take nothing for them. They had the man and woman delivered to them, whom they carried away in their arms. The Dobson did not stay above eight, ten, or twelve days. This was the *last trip* her boat was to make, when they carried off the two slaves.

Mr. Morley says, that when off Taboo, two men came in a canoe, along-side his vessel. One of them came up, and sat on the netting, but would not come into the ship. The captain at length, enticing him, intoxicated him so with brandy and laudanum, that he fell in upon deck. The captain then ordered him to be put into the men's room, with a centry over him. The other man in the canoe, after calling in vain for his companion, paddled off fast towards the shore. The captain fired several musket balls after him, which did not hit him. About three or four leagues farther down, two men came on board from another canoe. While they were on board, a drum was kept beating near the man who had been seized, to prevent his hearing them, or they him.

He says again, in speaking of another part of the coast, that Captain Briggs's chief mate, in Old Calabar River, lying in ambush to stop the natives coming down the creek, pursued Oruk Robin John, who, jumping on shore, shot the mate through the head.

He says also, of another part of the coast, that a Mr. Walker, master of a sloop, was on board the Jolly Prince, Capt. Lambert, when the king of Nazareth stabbed the captain at his own table, and took the vessel, putting all the whites to death, except the cook, a boy, and, he believes, one man. Captain Walker, being asked why the king of Nazareth took this step, said it was on account

account of the people, whom Matthews had carried off from Gaboon and Cape Lopez the voyage before. Walker escaped, by knowing the language of the country.

Mr. Morley sailed afterwards with the same Captain Matthews to Gaboon River, where the Chiefs sons came on board him to demand what he had done with their sons, and the boys he had carried off, (the same as Walker alluded to) and told him, that if he dared to come on shore, they would have his head.

As a farther corroboration, that such practices as the above take place, it appears in evidence, that the natives of the coast and islands are found constantly hovering in their canoes, at a distance, about such vessels as are passing by, shy of coming on board, for fear of being taken off, [Hall, Falconbridge, Claxton, Bowman, &c.] But if they can discover that such vessels *are not in the slave trade*, but *are men of war*, they come on board readily, [Sir George Young] or *without any hesitation*, which they would *not otherwise* have done, [Mr. Howe] and *in numbers*, [Lieutenant Simpson] and traverse the ships *with as much confidence as if they had been on shore*, [Captain Wilson.]

Mr. Ellison says, when he was lying at Yanamaroo, in the Gambia, slaves were brought down. The traders raised the price. The captains would not give it, but thought to compel them by firing upon the town. They fired red hot shot from the ship, and set several houses on fire. All the ships, seven or eight, fired.

Mr. Falconbridge heard Captain Vicars, of a Bristol ship, say at Bonny, when his traders were slack, he fired a gun into or over the town, to freshen their way. Captain Vicars told this to him and other people there at the time, but he has seen no instance of it himself.

Mr. Isaac Parker says, the Guinea captains lying in Old Calabar River, fixed on a certain price, and agreed to lie under a £.50 bond, if any one of them should give more for slaves than another; in consequence of which, the natives did not readily bring slaves on board to sell at those prices; upon which, the captains used to row guard at night, to take the canoes as they passed the ships.

ships, and so stopping the slaves from getting to their towns, prevent the traders from getting them. These they took on board the different ships, and kept them till the traders agreed to sell at the old prices.

Lieutenant Storey says, that Captain Jeremiah Smith, in the London, in 1766, having a dispute with the natives of New Town Old Calabar, concerning the stated price which he was to give for slaves, for several days stopped every canoe coming down the Creek from New Town, and also fired several guns indiscriminately over the woods into the town, till he brought them to his own terms.

Captain Hall says, in Old Calabar River there are two towns, Old Town and New Town. A rivalry in trade produced a jealousy between the towns ; so that through fear of each other, for a considerable time, *no canoe would leave their towns to go up the river for slaves*. This happened in 1767. In this year seven ships, of which five were the following—Duke of York, Bevan,—Edgar; Lace,—Indian Queen, Lewis,—Nancy, Maxwell,—and Canterbury, Sparks,—lay off the point which separates the towns. Six of the captains invited the people of both towns on board on a certain day, as if to reconcile them : at the same time they agreed with the people of New Town to cut off all the Old Town people who should remain on board the next morning. The Old Town people persuaded of the sincerity of the captains proposal, went on board in great numbers. Next morning, at eight o'clock, one of the ships fired a gun, as a signal to commence hostilities. Some of the traders were secured on board, some were killed in resisting, and some got overboard, and were fired upon. When the firing began, the New Town people, who were in ambush behind the Point, came forward, and picked up the people of Old Town, who were swimming, and had escaped the firing. After the firing was over, the captains of five of the ships delivered their prisoners, (persons of consequence) to the New Town canoes, two of whom were beheaded alongside the ships. The inferior prisoners were carried to the West Indies. One of the captains, who had secured three of the king's brothers, delivered one of them

them to the chief man of New Town, who was one of the two beheaded alongside ; the other brothers he kept on board, promising, *when the ship was slaved*, to deliver them to the chief man of New Town. His ship was soon slaved on account of his promise, and the number of prisoners made that day ; but he refused to deliver the king's two brothers, according to his promise, and carried them to the West Indies, and sold them. It happened in process of time, that they escaped to Virginia, and from thence, after three years, to Bristol, where the captain who brought them, fearing he had done wrong, meditated carrying, or sending them back ; but Mr. Jones of Bristol, who had ships trading to Old Calabar, and hearing who they were, had them taken from the ship, (where they were in irons) by Habeas Corpus. After inquiry how they were brought from Africa, they were liberated, and put in one of Mr. Jones's ships for Old Calabar, where Captain Hall was, when they arrived in the ship Cato, Langdon.

So satisfied were the people of Old Town, in 1767, of the sincerity of the captains who invited them, and of the New Town people, towards a reconciliation, that the night before the massacre, the chief man of Old Town gave to the chief man of New Town, one of his favourite women as a wife. It was said that from *three to four hundred* persons were killed that day, in the ships, in the water, or carried off the coast.

The king escaped from the ship he was in, by killing two of the crew, who attempted to seize him. He then got into a one-man canoe, and paddled to the shore. A six pounder from one of the ships struck the canoe to pieces ; he then swam on shore to the woods near the ships, and reached his own town, though closely pursued. It was said he received eleven wounds from musket shot.

Captain Hall, in his first voyage on board the Neptune, had this account from the boatswain, Thomas Rutter, who, in 1767, had been boatswain to the Canterbury, Captain Sparkes, of London, and concerned in the said massacre. Rutter told him the story exactly as related,

related, and never varied in it. He had it also from the king's two brothers, who agreed exactly with Rutter.

Captain Hall also saw at Calabar, in the possession of the king's two brothers, their depositions taken at Bristol, and of Mr. Floyd, who was mate of one of the ships when the transaction happened, but he took no copy.

Mr. Millar says, that a quarrel happened between the people of Old and New Town, which prevented the ships lying in Calabar river from being slaved. He believes in June 1767, Captain S. Sparkes, (captain of his ship, the Canterbury) came one evening to him, and told him that the two towns, so quarrelling, would meet on board the different ships, and ordered him to hand up some swords.

The next day several canoes, as Sparkes had before advertised him, came from both of the towns, on board the Canterbury, Mr. Millar's own ship, and one of the persons so coming on board, brought a letter, which he gave Sparkes; immediately on the receipt of which, he, Sparkes, took a hanger, and attacked one of the Old Town people then on board, cutting him immediately on the arms, head, and body. The man fled, ran down the steps leading to the cabin, and Sparkes still following him with the hanger, darted into the boys room. Mr. Miller is sure this circumstance can never be effaced from his memory. From this room he was however brought up by means of a rope, when Sparkes renewed his attack as before, on him, who, making for the entering port, leaped overboard.

This being concluded, Sparkes left his own ship to go on board some of the other ships, then lying in the river. Soon after he was gone, a boy belonging to Mr. Millar's ship, came and informed him, Mr. Millar, that he had discovered a man concealed behind the medicine chest. Mr. Millar went and found the man. He was the person before-mentioned to have brought a letter on board. On being discovered by Mr. Millar, he begged for mercy, intreating that he might not be delivered up to the people of New Town. He was brought on the quarter-deck, where were some of the New Town people, who would have killed him, had they not been prevent-

ed. The man was then ironed, and conducted into the room of the men slaves.

Soon after this transaction, the captain returned, and brought with him a New Town trader, named Willy Honesty. On coming on board he was informed of what had happened in his absence, and Mr. Millar believes, in the hearing of Willy Honesty, who immediately exclaimed, " Captain, if you will give me that man, to cut off his head, I will give you the best man in my canoe, and you shall be favored the first ship." The captain upon this looked into Willy Honesty's canoe, picked his man, and delivered the other in his stead, when his head was immediately struck off in Mr. Millar's sight.

Mr. Millar believes, that some other cruelties, besides this particular act, were done, because he saw blood on the starboard side of the mizen-mast, though he does not recollect seeing any bodies from whence the blood might come; and others in other ships, because he heard several muskets or pistols fired from them at the same time. This affair might last ten minutes. He remembers a four-pounder fired at a canoe, but knows not if any damage was done.

As to other acts of injustice on the part of the Europeans, some consider frauds, (says Mr. Newton) as a necessary branch of the slave trade. They put false heads into powder casks; cut off two or three yards from the middle of a piece of cloth; adulterate their spirits, and steal back articles given. Besides these, there are others who pay in bottles, which contain but half the contents of the samples shewn (Wadstrom), use false steelyards and weights, (Bowman) and sell such guns as burst on firing, so that many of the natives of the Windward Coast, are without their fingers and thumbs on this account, (Lieutenant Storey) and it has become a saying, " That these guns kill more out of the butt than the muzzle," (Falconbridge).

Mr. Dalrymple, while at Goree, remembers a ship attempting to sail out of the bay with a number of slaves, without paying for them, but she was stopped by the guns of the fort.

## C H A P. III.

*The enslaved Africans come dejected on board—Cause of this Dejection—Methods of confining, airing, feeding, and exercising them—Mode of stowing them, with its bad Consequences—This Mode and its Consequences confirmed by another Species of Proof—Incidents on the Passage—Manner of selling them when arrived at their destined Ports—Deplorable Situation of the Refuse or Sickly Slaves—Separation of Relations and Friends—Mortality on the Passage, and frequently after Sale—Causes of this Mortality—Opinions of several of the Evidences on the Trade,*

**T**H E natives of Africa having been made slaves in the manner described in the former chapters, are brought down for sale to the European ships.

On being brought on board, says Dr. Trotter, they shew signs of extreme distress and despair, from a feeling of their situation, and regret at being torn from their friends and connections; many retain those impressions for a long time; in proof of which, the slaves on board his ship being often heard in the night, making an howling melancholy noise, expressive of extreme anguish, he repeatedly ordered the woman, who had been his interpreter, to inquire into the cause. She discovered it to be owing to their having dreamt they were in their own country again, and finding themselves when awake, in the hold of a slave ship. This exquisite sensibility was particularly observable among the women, many of whom, on such occasions, he found in hysterick fits.

The foregoing description as far as relates to their dejection when brought on board, and the cause of it is confirmed by Hall, Wilson, Claxton, Ellison, Towne, and Falconbridge, the latter of whom relates an instance of a young woman who cried and pined away after being

brought on board, who recovered when put on shore, and who hung herself when informed she was to be sent again to the ship.

Captain Hall says, after the first eight or ten of them come on board, the men are put into irons. They are linked two and two together by the hands and feet, in which situation they continue till they arrive in the West Indies, except such as may be sick, whose irons are then taken off. The women however, he says, are always loose.

On being brought up, in a morning, says Surgeon Wilson, an additional mode of securing them takes place, for to the shackles of each pair of them there is a ring, through which is reeved a large chain, which locks them all in a body to ring-bolts fastened to the deck.

The time of their coming up in the morning, if fair, is described by Mr. Towne to be between eight and nine, and the time of their remaining there to be till four in the afternoon, when they are again put below till the next morning. In the interval of being upon deck they are fed twice. They have also a pint of water allowed to each of them a day, which being divided is served out to them at two different times, namely, after their meals.

These meals, says Mr. Falconbridge, consist of rice, yams, and horse-beans, with now and then a little beef and bread. After meals they are made to jump in their irons. This is called *dancing* by the slave-dealers. In every ship he has been desired to flog such as would not jump. He had generally a cat of nine tails in his hand among the women, and the chief mate, he believes, another among the men.

The parts, says Mr. Claxton, (to continue the account) on which their shackles are fastened, are often excoriated by the violent exercise they are thus forced to take, of which they made many grievous complaints to him. In his ship even those who had the flux, scurvy, and such oedematous swellings in their legs as made it painful to them to move at all, were compelled to dance by the cat.

He says also that on board his ship they sometimes *sang*, but not for their amusement. The captain ordered them to sing, and they *sung songs of sorrow*. The subject of these songs were their wretched situation, and the idea of never returning home. He recollects their very words upon these occasions.

The above account of shackling, melling, dancing \*, and singing the slaves, is allowed by all the evidences as far as they speak to the same points, except by Mr. Falconbridge, in whose ships the slaves had a pint and half of water per day.

On the subject of the stowage and its consequences, Dr. Trotter says, that the slaves in the passage are so crowded below, that it is impossible to walk through them, without treading on them. Those, who are out of irons, are *locked spoonways* (in the technical phrase) to one another. It is the first mate's duty to see them stowed in this way every morning; those who do not get quickly into their places, are compelled by a *cat-of-nine-tails*.

When the scuttles are obliged to be shut, the gratings are not sufficient for airing the rooms. He never himself could breathe freely, unless immediately under the hatchway. He has seen the slaves drawing their breath with all those laborious and anxious efforts for life, which are observed in expiring animals, subjected by experiment to foul air, or in the exhausted receiver of an air pump. He has also seen them when the tarpawlings have inadvertently been thrown over the gratings, attempting to heave them up; crying out in their own language, "We are dying;" on removing the tarpawlings and gratings, they would fly to the hatchway with all the signs of terror and dread of suffocation. Many of them he has seen in a dying state, but some have recovered by being brought hither, or on the deck; others were irrecoverably lost by suffocation, having had no previous signs of indisposition.

\* The necessity of exercise for health is the reason given for compelling the slaves to undergo the above manner.

Mr. Falconbridge also states on this head, that when employed in stowing the slaves he made the most of the room, and *wedged them in*. They had not so much room as a man in his coffin either in length or breadth. It was impossible for them to turn or shift with any degree of ease. He had often occasion to go from one side of their rooms to the other, in which case he always *took off his shoes*, but could not avoid pinching them ; he has the marks on his feet where they bit and scratched him. In every voyage when the ship was full they complained of heat and want of air. Confinement in this situation was so injurious, that he has known them *go down apparently in good health at night, and found dead in the morning*. On his last voyage he opened a stout man who so died. He found the contents of the thorax and abdomen healthy, and therefore concludes *he died of suffocation in the night.*

He was never among them for ten minutes below together, but his shirt was as wet as if dipt in water.

One of his ships, the Alexander, coming out of Bonny, got aground on the bar, and was detained there six or seven days, with a great swell and heavy rain. At this time the air ports were obliged to be shut, and part of the gratings on the weather side covered : almost all the men slaves were taken ill with the flux. The last time he went down to see them it was so hot that he took off his shirt. *More than twenty of them had then fainted, or were fainting.* He got however several of them hauled on deck. Two or three of these died, and most of the rest before they reached the West Indies. He was down only about fifteen minutes, and became so ill by it that he could not get up without help, and was disabled (the dysentery seizing him also) from doing duty the rest of the passage. On board the same ship he has known two or three instances of *a dead and living slave found in the morning shackled together.*

The crowded state of the slaves, and the pulling off the shoes by the surgeons as described above, that they might not hurt them in traversing their rooms, are additionally mentioned by surgeons Wilson and Claxton. The slaves are said also by Hall and Wilson to complain on account

account of heat.' Both Hall, Towne, and Morley describe them as often in a violent perspiration or dew sweat. Mr. Ellison has seen them faint through heat, and obliged to be brought on deck, the steam coming up through the gratings like a furnace. In Wilson's and Towne's ships some have gone below well in an evening, and in the morning have been found dead, and Mr. Newton has often seen a dead and living man chained together, and to use his own words, *one of the pair dead.*

To prove that this stowage, and of course that the consequences of it, must unavoidably be as described by the gentlemen above, the following species of evidence and calculation may be resorted to.

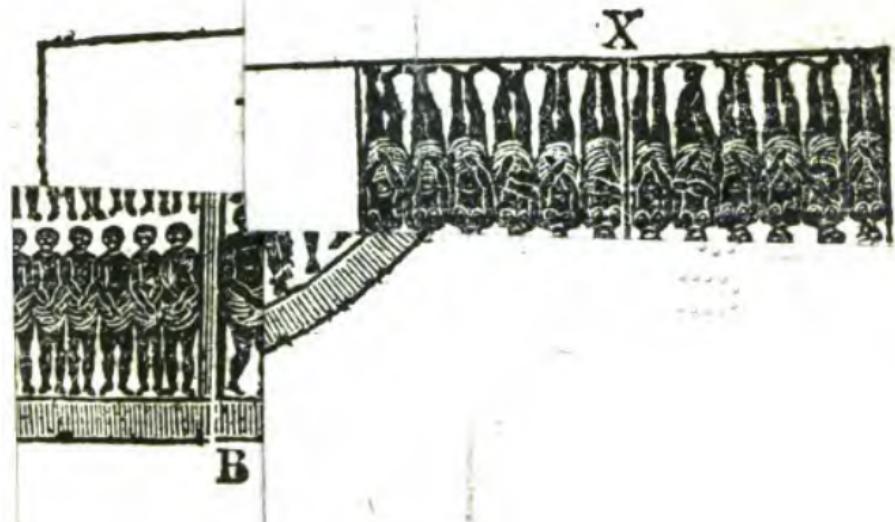
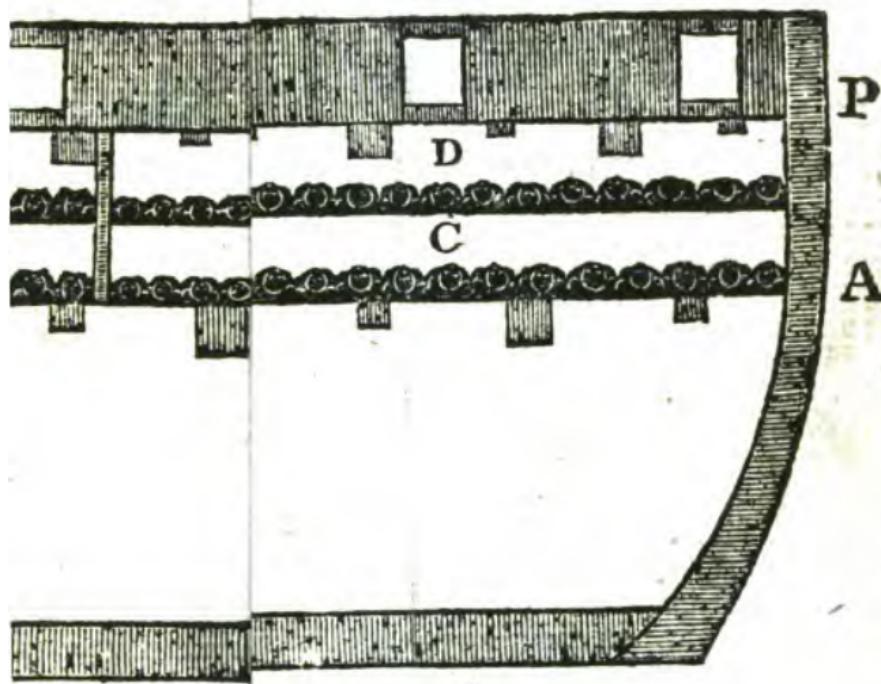
Captain Parrey, of the Royal Navy, was sent by government in the year 1788, to measure such of the slave vessels as were then lying at Liverpool, and to make a report of the same to the House of Commons. In this report are mentioned the names of the different vessels, and their respective dimensions as taken by him. The first of these, as delivered in by himself, is the Brookes, and as some one ship must be taken to make out the proof intended, it will be less objectionable to take the first that comes than any other. The dimensions then of the Brookes, as reported by Captain Parrey, will be found as in the annexed plans.

## DIMENSIONS OF THE SHIP.

Feet Inches

Length of the <i>Lower Deck</i> , gratings and bulkheads included at A A - - - - -	100	0
Breadth of <i>Beam</i> on the <i>Lower Deck</i> inside, BB - - - - -	25	4
Depth of <i>Hold</i> , OOO from ceiling to ceiling - - - - -	10	0
Height between decks from deck to deck - - - - -	5	8
Length of the <i>Mens Room</i> , CC on the lower deck - - - - -	46	0
Breadth of the <i>Mens Room</i> , CC on the lower deck - - - - -	25	4
Length of the <i>Platforms</i> , DD in the mens room - - - - -	46	0
Breadth of the <i>Platforms</i> in the mens room on each side - - - - -	6	0
Length of the <i>Boys Room</i> , EE - - - - -	13	9
Breadth of the <i>Boys Room</i> - - - - -	25	0
Breadth of <i>Platforms</i> , FF in boys room - - - - -	6	0
Length of <i>Womens Room</i> , GG - - - - -	28	6
Breadth of <i>Womens Room</i> - - - - -	23	6
Length of <i>Platforms</i> , HH in womens room - - - - -	28	6
Breadth of <i>Platforms</i> in womens room - - - - -	6	0
Length of the <i>Gun Room</i> , II on the lower deck - - - - -	10	6
Breadth of <i>Gun Room</i> on the lower deck - - - - -	12	0
Length of the <i>Quarter Deck</i> , KK - - - - -	33	6
Breadth of the <i>Quarter Deck</i> - - - - -	19	6
Length of the <i>Cabin</i> , LL - - - - -	14	0
Height of the <i>Cabin</i> - - - - -	6	2
Length of the <i>Half Deck</i> , MM - - - - -	16	6
Height of the <i>Half Deck</i> - - - - -	6	2
Length of the <i>Platforms</i> , NN on the half deck - - - - -	16	6
Breadth of the <i>Platforms</i> on the half deck - - - - -	6	0
Upper deck, PP		

Let it now be supposed that the above are the real dimensions of the ship Brookes, and farther, that every man slave is to be allowed six feet by one foot four inches for room, every woman five feet ten by one foot four, every boy five feet by one foot two, and every girl four feet six by one foot, it will follow that the annexed plan of a slave vessel will be precisely the representation of the ship Brookes, and of the exact number of persons, neither more nor less, that could be stowed in the different





ferent rooms of it upon these data. These, if counted, (\* deducting the women stowed in Z of Figures VI. and VII.) will be found to amount to *four hundred and fifty-one*. Now, if it be considered that the ship Brookes is of 320 tons, and that she is allowed to carry by Act of Parliament *four hundred and fifty-four persons*, it is evident that if three more could be wedged among the number represented in the plan, this plan would contain precisely the number which the Act directs; and if it should be farther considered that there ought to be in each apartment in the plan one or more tubs, as well as stanchions, to support the platforms and decks, for which no deduction has been made, in order to give every possible advantage in stowing, then the above plan may be considered as giving a very favourable representation of the stowing of the negroes *even since the late regulating Act.* The plan therefore abundantly proves that the stowage of these poor people, as well as the consequences of it, must have been as described by the evidences above; for, if when four hundred and fifty-one slaves are put into the different rooms of the Brookes, the floors are not only covered with bodies, but these bodies actually touch each other, what must have been their situation when six hundred were stowed in them at the time alluded to by Dr. Trotter, who belonged to this ship, and six hundred and nine by the confession of the slave-mERCHANTS in a subsequent voyage †?

To come now to the different incidents on the passage. Mr. Falconbridge says, that there is a place in every ship.

\* By the late act of Parliament the space Z, which is half of the half deck, MZ, is appropriated to the seamen.

† The situation of the slaves must be dreadful even on the present regulated plan; for their bodies not only touch each other, but many of them have not even room to sit upright; for when every deduction has been made, the height above the platform D F H, Fig. I. and below it C E G, is in the Brooks but two feet seven inches. The average height in nine other vessels measured by Captain Parrey was only five feet two inches; and in the Venus and Kitty the slaves had not two feet above or below the platforms. The slaves immediately under the beams must be in a still more dreadful situation, as is seen by the plan; for in Fig. I. under the upper deck P P, and lower deck A A. these beams are represented by shaded squares, as also they are introduced in Fig. II. and III.

for the sick slaves, but there are no accommodations for them, for they lie on the bare planks. He has seen frequently the prominent parts of their bones about the shoulder-blade and knees bare.

He says he cannot conceive any situation so dreadful and disgusting as that of slaves when ill of the flux : in the Alexander the deck was covered with blood and mucus, and resembled a slaughter-house. The stench and foul air were intolerable.

The slaves, shackled together, frequently quarrel. In each apartment there are three or four tubs placed for their convenience: those, however, at a distance find it difficult to get over other slaves to these tubs: sometimes if one wants to go to them, his companion refuses to go with him; if relaxed, he exonerates, while disputing, over his neighbours. This causes great disturbance.

He has known several slaves on board refuse sustenance, with a design to starve themselves. Compulsion was used in every ship he was in to make them take their food. He has also known many instances of their refusing to take medicines when sick, because they wished to die. A woman on board the Alexander, was dejected from the moment she came on board, and refused both food and medicine: being asked by the interpreter what she wanted, she replied, nothing but to die—and she did die. Many other slaves expressed the same wish.

The ships, he says, are fitted up with a view to prevent slaves jumping overboard; notwithstanding which he has known instances of their doing so. In the Alexander two were lost in this way. In the same voyage near twenty jumped overboard out of the Enterprize, Captain Wilson, and several from a large Frenchman in Bonny River.

In his first voyage he saw at Bonny, on board the Emilia, a woman chained to the deck, who, the chief mate said, was mad. On his second voyage, there was a woman on board his own ship, whom they were forced to chain at certain times. In a lucid interval she was sold at Jamaica. He ascribes this insanity to their being torn from their connections and friends.

Doctor Trotter, examined on the same subject, says, that the man sold with his family for witchcraft, (of which he had been accused, *out of revenge*, by a Cabo-sheer, p. 11.) refused all sustenance after he came on board. Early next morning it was found he had attempted to cut his throat. Dr. Trotter sewed up the wound, but the following night the man had not only torn out the sutures, but had made a similar attempt on the other side. From the ragged edges of the wound, and the blood upon his fingers ends, it appeared to have been done with his nails, for though strict search was made through all the rooms, no instrument was found. He declared *he never would go with white men*, uttered incoherent sentences, and looked wishfully at the skies. His hands were secured, but *persisting to refuse all sustenance*, he died of hunger in eight or ten days.

He remembers also an instance of a woman who perished for refusing food: she was repeatedly flogged, and viuctuals forced into her mouth, but *no means* could make her swallow it, and she lived for the four last days in a state of torpid insensibility.

A man jumped overboard at Annamaboe, and was drowned. Another also, on the middle passage, but he was taken up. A woman also, after having been taken up, was chained for some time to the mizen mast, but being let loose again made a second attempt, was again taken up, and expired under the floggings given her in consequence.

Mr. Wilson, speaking also on the same subject, relates, among *many cases where force was necessary* to oblige the slaves to take food, that of a young man. He had not been long on board before he perceived him get thin. On inquiry, he found the man had not taken his food, and refused taking any. Mild means were then used to divert him from his resolution, as well as promises that he should have any thing he wished for: but still he refused to eat. They then whipped him with the cat, but this also was ineffectual. He always kept his teeth so fast, that it was impossible to get any thing down. They then endeavoured to introduce a SPECULUM ORIS between them;

them, but the points were too obtuse to enter, and next tried a *bolus knife*, but with the same effect. In this state he was for four or five days, when he was brought up as dead, to be thrown overboard ; but Mr. Wilson finding life still existing, repeated his endeavours, though in vain, and two days afterwards he was brought up again in the same state as before. He then seemed to wish to get up. The crew assisted him, and brought him aft to the fire-place, when in a feeble voice, in his own tongue, he asked for water, which was given him. Upon this they began to have hopes of dissuading him from his design, but he again shut his teeth as fast as ever, *and resolved to die*, and on the ninth day from his first refusal he died.

Mr. Wilson says it hurt his feelings much to be obliged to use the cat so frequently to force them to take their food. In the very act of chastisement they have looked up at him with a smile, and in their own language have said, "*presently we shall be no more.*"

In the same ship a woman found means to convey below the night preceding some rope-yarn, which she tied to the head of the armourer's vice, then in the women's room. She fastened it round her neck, and in the morning was found dead, with her head lying on her shoulder, whence it appeared, she must have used great exertions to accomplish her end. A young woman also hanged herself by tying rope-yarns to a batten, near her usual sleeping-place, and then slipping off the plat-form. The next morning she was found warm, and he used the proper means for her recovery, but in vain.

In the same ship also, when off Annabona, a slave on the sick list jumped overboard, and was picked up by the natives, but died soon afterwards. At another time, when at sea, the captain and officers when at dinner, heard the alarm of a slave's being overboard, and found it true, for they perceived him making every exertion to drown himself. He put his head under water, but lifted his hands up ; and thus went down, *as if exulting that he had got away.*

Besides the above instance, a man slave who came on board apparently well, became afterwards mad, and at length died insane.

Mr. Claxton, the fourth surgeon examined on these points, declares the steerage and boys room to have been insufficient to receive the sick; they were therefore obliged to place together those that were, and those that were not, diseased, and in consequence the disease and mortality increased more and more. The captain treated them with more tenderness than he has heard was usual, but the men were not humane. Some of the most diseased were obliged to keep on deck, with a sail spread for them to lie on. This, in a little time, became nearly covered with *blood and mucus*, which involuntarily issued from them, and therefore the sailors, who had the disagreeable task of cleaning the sail, grew angry with the slaves, and used to beat them inhumanly with their hands, or with a cat. The slaves in consequence grew fearful of committing this involuntary action, and when they perceived they had done it, would immediately creep to the tubs, and there sit straining with such violence, as to produce a *prolapsus ani*, which could not be cured.

Some of the slaves on board the same ship, says Mr. Claxton, had such an aversion to leaving their native places, that they threw themselves overboard, with an idea that they should get back to their own country. The captain, in order to obviate this idea, thought of an expedient, viz. to cut off the heads of those who died, intimating to them, that if determined to go, they must return without their heads. The slaves were accordingly brought up to witness the operation. One of them seeing, when on deck, the carpenter standing with his hatchet up ready to strike off the head of a dead slave, with a violent exertion got loose, and flying to the place where the nettings had been unloosed, in order to empty the tubs, he darted overboard. The ship brought to, and a man was placed in the main chains to catch him, which he perceiving, dived under water, and rising again at a distance from the ship, made signs, which words cannot describe, expressive of his happiness in escaping. He then went down, and was seen no more. This circumstance deterred the captain from trying the expedient any more, and therefore he resolved for the future (*as he saw they were determined*

(minded to throw themselves overboard) to keep a strict watch; notwithstanding which, some afterwards contrived to unloose the lashing, so that two actually threw themselves into the sea, and were lost; another was caught when about three parts overboard.

All the above incidents, described as to have happened on the middle passage, are amply corroborated by the other evidences. *The slaves lie on the bare boards*, says surgeon Wilson. They are frequently bruised, and the prominent parts of the body excoriated, adds the same gentleman, as also Trotter and Newton. Their being linked together, their quarrelling, and the difficulty of getting to their tubs, are additionally mentioned by Hall and Newton. They have been seen by Morley *wallowing in their blood and excrement*. Claxton, Ellison, and Hall, describe them as refusing sustenance, and compelled to eat by the whip. Morley has seen the pannekin dashed against their teeth, and the rice held in their mouths, to make them swallow it, till they were almost strangled, and they have been even thumbscrewed\* with this view in the ships of Towne and Millar. -

The man also, says the former, stolen at Galena River, (p. 8.) refused to eat, and persisted till he died.

A woman, says the latter, who was brought on board, refused sustenance, neither would she speak. She was then ordered the thumb-screws, suspended in the mizen rigging, and every attempt was made with the cat to compel her to eat, but to no purpose. She died in three or four days afterwards. Mr. Millar was told that she had said the night before she died, "She was going to her friends."

As a third specific instance, in another vessel, may be mentioned that related by Mr. Isaac Parker. There was a child, says he, on board, of nine months old, which refused to eat, for which the captain took it up in his

\* To show the severity of this punishment, Mr. Dove says, that while two slaves were under the torture of the thumb-screws, the sweat ran down their faces, and they trembled as under a violent ague fit; and Mr. Ellison has known instances of their dying, a mortification having taken place in their thumbs in consequence of these screws.

hand,

hand, and flogged it with a cat, saying at the same time, " Damn you, I'll make you eat, or I'll kill you." The same child having swelled feet, the captain ordered them to be put into water, *though the ship's cook told him it was too hot.* This brought off the skin and nails. He then ordered sweet oil and cloths, which Isaac Parker himself applied to the feet; and as the child at mess-time again refused to eat, the captain again took it up, and flogged it, and tied a log of mango-wood eighteen or twenty inches long, and of twelve or thirteen pounds weight round its neck, as a punishment. He repeated the flogging for four days together at mess-time. The last time after flogging it, he let it drop out of his hand, with the same expression as before, and accordingly in about three-quarters of an hour the child died. He then called its mother to heave it overboard, and beat her for refusing. He however forced her to take it up, and go to the ship's side, *where holding her head on one side to avoid the sight, she dropped her child overboard, after which she cried for many hours.*

Besides instances of slaves refusing to eat, with the view of destroying themselves, and dying in consequence of it, those of their going mad, are confirmed by Towne, and of their jumping overboard, or attempting to do it, by Towne, Millar, Ellison, and Hall.

Other incidents on the passage, mentioned by some of the evidences in their examination, may be divided into three kinds.

The first kind consists of insurrections on the part of the slaves. Some of these frequently attempted to rise, but were prevented, (Wilson, Towne, Trotter, Newton, Dalrymple, Ellison,) others rose, but were quelled, (Ellison, Newton, Falconbridge) and others rose, and succeeded, killing almost all the whites: (Falconbridge and Towne.)—Mr. Towne says, that inquiring of the slaves into the cause of these insurrections, he has been asked *what business he had to carry them from their country. They had wives and children whom they wanted to be with.*

After an insurrection, Mr. Ellison says, he has seen them flogged, and the cook's tormentors and tongs heated.

*to burn their flesh.* Mr. Newton also adds, that it is usual for captains, after insurrections and plots happen, to flog the slaves. Some captains, on board whose ships he has been, added the thumb-screw, and one in particular told him repeatedly, that he had put slaves to death after an insurrection by various modes of torture.

The second sort of incident on the passage is mentioned by Mr. Falconbridge in the instance of an English vessel blowing up off Galenas, and most of the men slaves, *entangled in their irons, perishing.*

The third sort is described by Mr. Hercules Ross, as follows : One instance, says he, marked with peculiar circumstances of horror, occurs. - About twenty years ago, a ship from Africa, with about four hundred slaves on board, struck upon some shoals, called the Morant Keys, distant eleven leagues, S. S. E. off the East end of Jamaica. The officers and seamen of the ship landed in their boats, carrying with them arms and provisions. The slaves were left on board in their irons and shackles. This happened in the night-time. The Morant Keys consist of three small sandy islands, and he understood that the ship had struck upon the shoals, at about half a league to windward of them. When morning came, it was discovered that the negroes had got out of their irons, and were busy making rafts, upon which they placed the women and children, whilst the men, and others capable of swimming, attended upon the rafts, whilst they drifted before the wind towards the island where the seamen had landed. From an apprehension that the negroes would consume the water and provisions which the seamen had landed, they came to the resolution of destroying them, by means of their fire-arms and other weapons. As the poor wretches approached the shore, they *actually destroyed between three and four hundred of them.* Out of the whole cargo *only thirty-three or thirty-four were saved,* and brought to Kingston, where Mr. Ross saw them sold at public vendue. This ship, to the best of his recollection, was consigned to a Mr. Hugh Wallace, of the parish of St. Elizabeth's.

Mr. Ross says, in extenuation of this massacre, that the crew were probably drunk, or they would not have acted so, but he does not know it to have been the case.

When the ships arrive at their destined ports, the slaves are exposed to sale. They are sold either by scramble or by vendue, (i. e.) publick auction, or by lots. The sale by scramble is thus described by Mr. Falconbridge. "In the Emilia, (says he) at Jamaica, the ship was darkened with sails and covered round. The men slaves were placed on the main deck, and the women on the quarter deck. The purchasers on shore were informed a gun would be fired when they were ready to open the sale. A great number of people came on board with tallies or cards in their hands, with their own names upon them, and rushed through the barricado door with the ferocity of brutes. Some had three or four handkerchiefs tied together, to encircle as many as they thought fit for their purpose. In the yard at Grenada, he adds, (where another of his ships, the Alexander, sold by scramble,) the women were so terrified, that several of them got out of the yard, and ran about St. George's town as if they were mad. In his second voyage, while lying at Kingston, he saw a sale by scramble on board the Tryal, Captain Macdonald. Forty or fifty of the slaves leaped into the sea, all of which, however, he believes, were taken up again." This is a very general mode of sale. Mr. Baillie says, it was the common mode in America where he has been. Mr. Fitzmaurice has been at twenty sales by scramble in Jamaica. Mr. Clappeson never saw any other mode of sale during his residence there, and it is mentioned as having been practised under the inspection of Morley and of Trotter.

The slaves sold by public auction, or vendue, are generally the refuse, or sickly slaves. These are in such a state of health, that they sell, says Baillie, greatly under price. Falconbridge has known them sold for five dollars each, Towne for a guinea, and Mr. Hercules Ross as low as a single dollar.

The state of such is described to be very deplorable by General Tottenham and Mr. Hercules Ross. The former says, that he once observed at Barbadoes a number of slaves that had been landed from a ship. They were brought into the yard adjoining the place of sale. Those that were not very ill were put into little huts, and those that were worse were left in the yard to die, for *nobody gave them any thing to eat or drink ; and some of them lived three days in that situation.* The latter has frequently seen the very refuse (as they are termed) of the slaves of Guinea ships, landed and carried to the vendue masters in a very wretched state, sometimes in the agonies of death ; and he has known instances of their expiring in the piazza of the vendue master.

Mr. Newton says, that in none of the sales he saw was there any care ever taken to prevent such slaves as were relations from being separated. *They were separated as sheep and lambs by the butcher.* This separation of relations and friends is confirmed by Davison, Trotter, Clappeson, and Town. Fitzmaurice also mentions the same, with an exception only to infants ; but Mr. Falconbridge says, that one of his captains (Frazer) recommended it to the planters never to separate relations and friends. He says he once heard of a person refusing to purchase a man's wife, and was next day informed *the man had hanged himself.*

With respect to the mortality of slaves in the passage, Mr. Falconbridge says, that in three voyages he purchased 1100, and lost 191 ; Trotter, in one voyage, about 600, and lost about 70 ; Millar, in one voyage 490, and lost 180 ; Ellison, in three voyages, where he recollects the mortality, bought 895, and lost 356. In one of these voyages, says the latter, the slaves had the small-pox. In this case he has seen the platform one continued scab : *eight or ten of them were hauled up dead in a morning, and the flesh and skin has peeled off their wrists when taken hold of.*

Mr. Morley says, that in four voyages he purchased about 1325, and lost about 313. Mr. Towne, in two voyages, 630, and lost 115. Mr. Claxton, in one voyage,

voyage, 250, and lost 132. In this voyage, he says, they were so freightened for provisions, that if they had been ten more days at sea, they must either have eaten the slaves that died, or have made the living slaves *walk the plank*; a term *in use among Guinea captains for making the slaves throw themselves overboard*. He says also, that he fell in with the Hero, Captain Withers, which had lost 360 slaves, or more than half of her cargo, by the small-pox. The surgeon of the Hero told him, that when the slaves were removed from one place to another, *they left marks of their skin and blood upon the deck*, and it was the most horrid sight he had ever seen.

Mr. Wilson states, that in his ship, and three others, belonging to the same concern, they purchased among them 2064 slaves, and lost 586. He adds, that he fell in with the Hero, Captain Withers, at St. Thomas's, which had lost 159 slaves by the small pox. Capt. Hall, in two voyages, purchased 550, and lost 110. He adds, that he has known some ships in the slave trade bury *a quarter, some a third, and others half* of their cargo. *It is very uncommon to find ships without some loss\* in their slaves.*

Besides those which die on the passage, it must be noticed here that several die soon after they are sold. Sixteen, says Mr. Falconbridge, were sold by auction out of the Alexander, *all of whom died* before the ship left the West Indies. Out of fourteen, says Mr. Claxton, sold from his ship in an infectious state, *only four lived*; and though in the four voyages mentioned by Mr. Wilson no less than 586 perished on the passage out of 2064, yet 220 additionally died of the small pox in a very little time after their delivery in the River Plate, making the total loss for those ships not less than 836 out of 2064.

The causes of the disorders which carry off the slaves in such numbers, are ascribed by Mr. Falconbridge to be *a diseased mind, sudden transitions from heat to cold, a putrid*

\* Total purchased 7904, lost 2053, exclusive of the Hero, being above one-fourth of the number purchased. The reader will observe, that Mr. Claxton fell in with the Hero on one voyage, and Mr. Wilson on another.

*atmosphere, wallowing in their own excrements, and being shackled together.. A diseased mind, he says, is undoubtedly one of the causes ; for many of the slaves on board refused medicines, giving as a reason that they wanted to die, and could never be cured. Some few, on the other hand, who did not appear to think so much of their situation, recovered.* That shackling together is also another cause, was evident from the circumstance of the men dying in twice the proportion the women did ; and so long as the trade continues, he adds, *they must be shackled together, for no man will attempt to carry them out of irons.*

Surgeon Wilson, examined on the same topick, speaks nearly in the same manner. He says, that of the death of two-thirds of those who died in his ship, the primary cause was melancholy. This was evident not only from the symptoms of the disorder, and the circumstance that *no one who had it was ever cured*, whereas those who had it not, and yet were ill, recovered, but from the language of the slaves themselves, who declared *that they wished to die*, as also from Captain Smith's own declaration, who said *their deaths were to be ascribed to their thinking so much of their situation.* Though several died of the flux, he attributes their death primarily to the cause before assigned ; for, says he, their original disorder was a fixed melancholy, and the symptoms, lowness of spirits and despondency. Hence they refused food. This only increased the symptoms. The stomach afterwards got weak. Hence the belly ached, fluxes ensued, and they were carried off.

Mr. Towne, the only other person who speaks of the causes of the disorders of the slaves, says, "they often fall sick, sometimes owing to their crowded state, but mostly to grief for being carried away from their country and friends." This he knows from inquiring frequently (which he was enabled to do by understanding their language) into the circumstances of their grievous complaints \*.

\* It is evident from hence, that no Regulation of the trade can heal the evils in this branch of the subject. It can never cure a melancholy or a

As the trade may be said to end on the delivery of the slaves in the West Indies, it may not be improper to state the opinion of some of the Evidences concerning it.

Mr. Wilson states, that his reason for quitting his late employment was, that he did not like to continue in a trade, that did not perfectly coincide with his ideas, and was not to his satisfaction, being *obliged* to make use of means for the preservation of the cargo, *contrary to his feelings, and sense of humanity.*

Mr. Falconbridge declares, that in his first and second voyage he reflected but little on the justice or injustice of the trade. In his last voyage he reflected more, and *the more he did so, the more he was convinced it was an unnatural, iniquitous, and villainous trade, and he could not reconcile it to his conscience.* This was the reason for his leaving it. He adds, that he believes at the time he left it, he could have gone again with Capt. Frazer, *if he had chosen it,* and he was afterwards *repeatedly solicited to go to the Gold Coast by Captain Thompson.*

Captain Wilson declares from the whole of his experience, as an *impartial man*, he has long since formed an opinion, (*which each succeeding day's experience has justified and confirmed*) that it is a trade evidently founded on *injustice and treachery, manifestly carried on by oppression and cruelty, and not unfrequently terminating in murder.*

Captain Hall makes a declaration also, that when he left the trade he could have obtained the command of a ship in it, which command at that time *would have been a very lucrative one*, but that he quitted it from a *conviction that it was perfectly illegal, and founded in blood.*

*diseased mind.* It can never prevent an injured people from *rising if out of irons*, nor can it take away corrupted air, unless it reduce the number to be carried so low, as to make it not worth the while of the slave-merchants to transport them.

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## C H A P. IV.

*Africans, when bought, their general Estimation and Treatment—These become either Plantation or In-and-Out-door-Slaves—Labour of the Plantation Slaves in and out of Crop—Their Days of Rest—Food—Clothing—Houses—Property—Situation of the In-and-Out-door Slaves—Ordinary Punishment of the Slaves by the Whip and Cow-skin—Frequency and severity of these Punishments—Extraordinary Punishments of many Kinds—The concern which the very Women take in these Ordinary and Extraordinary Punishments—The different nominal Offences mentioned in the Evidence, which occasion them—Capital Offences and Punishments—Slaves turned off to steal, beg or starve, when incapable of Labour—Slaves have little or no Redress against ill Usage of any sort—Laws lately enacted, but not with an Intention to serve the Slaves, and of little or no Use.*

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THE natives of Africa, when bought by the European Colonists, are generally esteemed, says Dr. Jackson, *a species of inferior beings, whom the right of purchase gives the owner a power of using at his will.* Consistently with this definition we find the evidence asserting with one voice, that they “have no legal protection against their masters,” and of course that “their treatment varies according to the disposition of their masters.” If their masters be good men, says the Dean of Middleham, they are well off; but, if not, they suffer. The general treatment, however, is described to be very severe. Some speak more moderately than others upon it, but all concur in the general usage as being bad. Mr. Woolrich,

Woolrich, examined upon this point, says, that he never knew the best master in the W. Indies use his slaves so well as the worst master his servants in England ; that their state is inconceivable ; that it cannot be described to the full understanding of those, who have never seen it, and that a sight of some gangs would convince more than all words. Others again make use of the words, " used with great cruelty,—like beasts, or worse :" and the Dean of Middleham, after balancing in his mind all his knowledge upon this subject, cannot say, (setting aside on one hand particular instances of great severity, and on the other hand particular instances of great humanity) that treatment altogether humane and proper was the lot of such as he had either observed or heard of.

To come to a more particular description of their treatment, it will be proper to divide them into different classes. The first may be said to consist of those who are bought for the *plantation use*. These will be artificers of various descriptions, and the field \* slaves. The second will consist of what may be termed *In-or Out-door slaves*. The former are domesticks, both in town and country, and the latter porters, fishermen, boatmen, and the like.

The field slaves, whose case is the first to be considered, are called out by day-light to their work. For this purpose the shell blows, and they hurry into the field. If they are not there in time they are flogged. When put to their work, they perform it in rows, and *without exception under the whip of drivers*, a certain number of whom are allotted to each gang. By these means the weak are made to keep up with the strong. Mr. Fitz-maurice is sorry to say, that from this cause many of them are hurried to the grave, as the able, even if placed with the weakly to bring them up, will leave them behind, and then the weakly are generally flogged up by the driver. This, however, is the mode of their labour. As to the time of it, they begin, as before said,

\* Among these are again included watchmen, drivers, and head-negroes,

at day-light, and continue, with two intermissions, (one for half an hour in the morning, and the other for two hours at noon) till sun-set.

The above description, however, does not include the whole of their operations for the day, for it is expected that they shall range about and pick grass for the cattle. It is clear from the different evidences, that the custom of grass-picking varies, as to the time in which it is to be done, on different estates; for on some it is to be done within the intervals of rest said to be allowed at noon, and on others after the labour of the day. It is complained of however, in either case, as a great grievance, inasmuch as it lengthens the time of work; as also because, particularly in droughts, it is very difficult to find grass at all, and because if they do not bring it in sufficient quantities, they are punished. Grass-picking, says Capt. Smith, is one of the most frequent causes of punishment. He has seen some flogged for not getting so great a quantity of it as others, and that at a time, when he has thought it impossible they could have gotten half the quantity, having been upon the spot.

It is impossible to pass over in silence the almost total want of indulgence which the women slaves frequently experience during the operations in the field. It is asserted by Dalrymple, that the drivers in using their whip never distinguish sex. As to pregnant women, and such as had children, Mr. Davies believes they were allowed to come into the field a little later than the rest. They did little work after they were four months gone with child, in the experience of Mr. Duncan. Dr. Harrison also has known some overseers allow complaining pregnant women to retire from work, but he has seen them labouring in the field, when they seemed to have but a few months to go: they were generally worked as long as able. Much the same work, says Mr. Cook, was expected from pregnant women as others. He has seen them holing till within a few hours of their delivery, and has known them receive thirty-nine lashes while in this state. Mr. Woolrich thinks the pregnant women had some little indulgencies, but it was customary for them

to work in the field till near their time. The whip was occasionally used upon them, but not so severely as upon the men. Mr. Rees observing the gangs at work, saw a pregnant woman rather behind the rest. The driver called her to come on, and going back struck her with the whip up towards her shoulders. He asked another pregnant woman, if she was forced to work like the rest, and she said, Yes. Sir G. Young adds, that women were considered to miscarry in general from their hard field labour; and Captain Hall says, that, where they had children, they were sent again after the month to labour with the children upon their backs, and so little time afforded them to attend their wants, that he has seen a woman seated to give suck to her child, roused from that situation by a severe blow from the cart whip.\*

The above accounts of the mode and duration of the labour of the field slaves, are confined to that season of the year, which is termed, "Out of Crop," or the time in which they are preparing the lands for the crop. In the crop season, however, the labour is of much longer duration. Weakly handed estates, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, which are far the most numerous, form their negroes in crop into two spells, which generally change at twelve at noon, and twelve at night. The boilers and others about the works, relieved at twelve at noon, cut canes from shell-blow, (half past one) till dark, when they carry cane-tops or grafts to the cattle pens, and then they may rest till twelve at night, when they relieve the spell in the boiling-house, by which they themselves had been relieved at twelve in the day. On all estates the boiling goes on night and day without intermission: but well handed estates have three spells, and intermissions accordingly.

Mr. Dalrymple, speaking also of their labour in time of crop, says they are obliged to work *as long as they can*, which is as long as they can keep awake or stand on their legs. Sometimes they fall asleep, through excess

\* In some estates, it is usual to dig a hole in the ground, in which they put the bellies of pregnant women, while they whip them, that they may not excuse punishment, nor yet endanger the life of the woman or child. (Dr. Jackson, Lieutenant Davison.)

of fatigue, when their arms are caught in the mill, and torn off. He saw several, who had lost their arms in that way.

Mr. Cook states, on the same subject, that in crop-time they work in general about eighteen hours out of the twenty-four, and are often hurt *through mere fatigue and want of sleep*. He knew a girl lose her hand by the mill while feeding it, for being overcome by sleep, she dropped against the rollers. He has heard of several instances of this kind.

To this account of the labour of the slaves, both in and out of crop, it must be added here, that on some estates, it appears by the evidence, they have Sunday and Saturday afternoon out of crop to themselves, that is, to cultivate their own grounds for their support; on others, Sunday only; and on others, Sunday only in part; for some people, says the Dean of Middleham, required meat for the cattle on Sundays to be gathered twice in the day; and Lieutenant Davison says he has known them forced to work on Sundays for their masters. It appears again, that in crop, on no estates, have they more than Sunday for the cultivation of their lands. The Dean of Middleham has known them continue boiling the sugar till late on Saturday night, and in one instance remembers it to have been protracted till sunrise on Sunday \* morning: and the care afterwards of setting up the sugar-jars must have required several hours.

The point, which may be considered next, may be that of the slaves food. This appears by the evidence to be subject to no rule. On some estates they are allowed land, which they cultivate for themselves at the times mentioned above, but they have no provisions allowed them, except perhaps a small present of salt fish or beef, or salt pork, at Christmas. On others they are allowed provisions, but no land: and on others again they are allowed land and provisions jointly. Without enumerating the different ratios mentioned to be allowed them by the different evidences, it may be sufficient to

\* It appears, that they have three or four holidays in the year, but the days are not specified.

take the highest. The best allowance is evidently at Barbadoes, and the following is the account of it. The slaves in general, says General Tottenham, appeared to be ill fed: each slave had a pint of grain for twenty-four hours, and sometimes half a rotten herring when to be had. When the herrings were  *unfit for the whites*, they were bought up by the planters *for the slaves*. Mr. Davis says, that on those estates in Barbadoes where he has seen the slaves allowance dealt out, a grown negro had nine pints of corn, and about one pound of salt fish a week, but the grain of the West-Indies is much lighter than wheat. He is of opinion, that in general they were too sparingly fed. The Dean of Middleham also mentions nine pints per week as the quantity given, but that he has known masters abridge it in the time of crop. This is the greatest allowance mentioned throughout the whole of the evidence, and this is one of the cases in which the slaves had provisions but no land. Where, on the other hand, they have land and no provisions, all the evidences agree that it is quite ample to their support, but that *they have not sufficient time to cultivate it*. Their lands too are often at the distance of *three miles* from their houses, and Mr. Giles thinks the slaves were often so fatigued by the labour of the week as *scarcely to be capable of working in them on Sunday for their own use*. It is also mentioned as a great hardship, that often when they had cleared these lands, their master has taken them away for canes, giving them new wood-land in their stead, to be cleared afresh. This circumstance, together with the removal of their houses, many of them have so taken to heart, as to have died.

Whether or no their food may be considered as sufficient in general for their support, may be better seen from the following than the preceding account. Mr. Cook says that they have not sufficient food. He has known both Africans and \* *Creoles* eat the putrid carcases

\* All those born in the islands, are called *Creoles*. Some have attributed the eating of the putrid carcases of animals to the *vitiated taste* of the slaves, contracted in their own country, but the circumstance of those eating them, who are born in the islands, totally disproves the allegation, and points out the real cause as assigned above.

of animals, and is convinced they did it *through want*. Mr. J. Terry has known them, on estates where they have been worse fed than on others, eat the putrid carcases of animals also. Dead mules, horses, and cows, says Mr. Coor, were all burnt under the inspection of a white man. Had they been buried, the negroes would have dug them up in the night to eat them *through hunger*. It was generally said to be done to prevent the negroes from eating them, lest it should breed distempers.

Besides these, there are proofs of a different nature. Giles, Coor, Captain Giles, Captain Smith, Davison, Duncan, Harrison, and Dalrymple, agree, that many of the slaves in the West-Indies were *thieves*, but they all agree also in asserting, that they stole in consequence of *bunger, or being ill fed*. The usual objects of their theft are said by Terry, Clappeson, Duncan, Harrison, and the Dean of Middleham, to be *provisions or food*. Where they were well fed, on the other hand, say Davison and Captain Giles, they *+ did not steal*, and where they were ill fed, said Terry and Duncan, they stole at *the very hazard of their lives*. The Dean of Middleham and Harrison confirm this, by stating that several in consequence of attempting to steal provisions, have been brought home wounded, and almost cut to pieces by the watchmen.

On the subject of their clothing, there is the same variation as to quantity as in their food. It depends on the disposition and circumstances of their masters. The largest allowance in the evidence is that which is mentioned by Dr. Harrison. The men, he says, at Christmas, are allowed two frocks, and two pair of Osnaburgh trowsers, and the women two coats and two shifts apiece. Some also have two handkerchiefs for the head. They have no other clothes than these, except they get them by their own extra labour. Woolrich and Coor agree, that as far as their experience went, the masters did not expend for the clothing of their slaves more than half a

† There is a saying in the West Indies, "that you never see a negro but you see a thief;" — a saying which has a tendency to hurt the negroes in the estimation of those who hear it, but which it is easy to explain from the above accounts.

crown or three shillings a year ; and Cook says that they are in general very indifferently clothed, and that *one half of them go almost naked in the field.*

With respect to their houses and lodging, the accounts of the three following gentlemen will suffice.

Mr. Woolrich states their houses to be small square huts, built with poles, and thatched at the top and sides with a kind of bamboo, and built by the slaves themselves. He describes them as lying in the middle of these huts before a small fire, but to have no bedding. Some, he says, obtain a board or mat to lie on before the fire. A few of the head-slaves have cabins of boards raised from the floor, but no bedding, except some, who have a coarse blanket.

The Reverend Mr. Rees, describing their houses nearly in the same manner, observes that their furniture consists of stools and benches, that they had no beds or bedding in the houses he was in, but that some of them slept on the ground, and others on a board raised from it.

Some of the new slaves, says Dr. Harrison, have a few blankets, but it is not the general practice : for in general they have no bedding at all.

Of the property of the field slaves, (the next article to be considered) the following testimonies will give a sufficient illustration.

Many field slaves, says Mr. Woolrich, have it not in their power to earn any thing, exclusive of their master's work. Some few raise fowls, and some few pigs, and sell them, but their *number is very few.*

Mr. Dalrymple does not say, that slaves never become possessed of much property, but he never knew an instance of it, nor *can he conceive how they can have time for it.*

The Dean of Middleham observes, that the quantity of ground allowed to field slaves for raising provisions *does not admit of their frequently possessing any considerable property.* It is not likely they can spare much of their produce for sale. Sometimes they possess a pig, and two or three fowls, and if they have also a few plantain trees, these may be the means of supplying them with

knives, iron pots, and such other conveniences their masters do not allow them.

The greatest property Mr. M. Terry ever knew a field slave to possess was two pigs, and a little poultry. *A field slave has not the means of getting much property.*

Mr. J. Terry has known the field slaves so poor as *not to be able to have poultry*. They were not allowed to keep sheep on any estate he knew. On some they might keep two or three goats, but very few allowed it. Some keep pigs and poultry, if able to buy any.

To these testimonies it may be added, that all the evidences, to whom the question has been proposed, agree in answering, that they never knew nor heard of a field slave ever amassing such a sum, as enabled him to purchase his own freedom.

With respect to the artificers, such as house-carpenters, coopers, and masons, and the drivers and head-slaves, who form the remaining part of the plantation slaves, they are described as having in general a more certain allowance of provisions, as being better off.

Having now described the state of the *plantation*, it will be proper to say a few words on that of the *In-and-Out-door slaves*. The In-door slaves, or domestics, are allowed by all the evidences to be better clothed, and less worked than the others, and invariably to look better. Some, however, complain of their being much pinched for food,\* and the women often so as to be driven to prostitution, but the general account is that they are better fed than the field slaves. Their life, however, is described to be often wretched by being continually under the eye of their masters and mistresses, and therefore continually subject to be teased and mortified at their caprice, so that Forster, (as will be explained hereafter) thinks their situation even harder in this respect than that of the *field slaves*, and Coor has known many of them wish to be sent into the field.

\* Some give them one, two, or three bits a week to maintain themselves upon, but the mode of feeding them, as well as their allowance, is subject to no rule.

With respect to the Out-door slaves, several persons, who have a few slaves, and little work, allow them to work out, and oblige them to bring home three or four bits a day. The situation of these is considered to be very hard, for they are often unable to find work, and to earn the stated sum, and yet, if they fail, they are severely punished. Mr. Clappeson has known them steal grass, and sell it, to make up the sum required.

In this description may be ranked such as follow the occupation of porters. These are allowed to work out, and at the end of the week obliged to bring home to their masters a certain weekly sum. Their situation is much aggravated by having no fixed rates. If, says + Forster, on being offered too little for their work they remonstrate, they are often beaten, and receive nothing, and should they refuse the next call from the same person, they are summoned before a magistrate, and punished on the parade for refusal, and he has known them so punished.

To the same description belong those unhappy females, who have leave to go out for prostitution, and are obliged to bring their owners a certain payment per week. Handsome women are expected to bring home more money than the ordinary. They are punished if they return without the full wages of their prostitution.

Having now described the labour, food, clothing, houses, property, and different kinds of employment of the plantation, as well as the situation of the In-and-out-door slaves, as far as the evidence will warrant, it may be proper to advert to their punishments; and, first, to those that are inflicted by the cow-skin or the whip.

In the towns many people have their slaves flogged upon their own premises, in which case it is performed by a man, who is paid for it, and who goes round the town in quest of delinquents. But those, says Mr. H. Ross, who do not chuse to disturb their neighbours with the slaves cries, send them to the wharfs or gaol, where they also are corrected by persons paid. At other times they

are whipped publicly round the town, and at others tied down, or made to stand in some publick place, and receive it there.

When they are flogged on the wharfs, to which they go for the convenience of the cranes and weights, they are described by H. Ross, Morley, Jeffreys, Towne, and Captain Scott, to have their arms tied to the *backs of the crane*, and *weights of fifty-six pounds applied to their feet*. In this situation the crane is wound up, so that it lifts them nearly from the ground, and keeps them in a stretched posture, when the whip or cow-skin is used. After this they are again whipped, but with *ebony bushes* (which are more prickly than the thorn bushes in this country) in order to *let out the congealed blood*. Captain Scott, describing it, says, that he saw a white man pursue a negro into the water, bring him out, and take him to the wharf, where he had him hung up to a crane by the hands, which were tied together, and weights tied to his feet. When thus hoisted up, but so as still to touch the ground, another negro was ordered to whip him with a prickly bush. He walked away from the disagreeable sight. The next day he saw the same negro lying on the beach, and, with the assistance of another, taking the prickles out of his breech, seemingly swelled and bloody. The negro assigned as a reason for the whipping, the wharfinger thought *he had staid too long on an errand*.

Respecting the whippings in gaol and round the town, Dr. Garrison thought them too severe to be inflicted on any of the human species. He attended a man, who had been flogged in gaol, who was ill in consequence five or six weeks. It was by his master's order for *not coming when he was called*. He could lay two or three fingers in the wounds made by the whip,

On the other mode General Tottenham observes, that he was at a planter's house when the Jumper came. He heard him ask the master, if he had any commands for him. The Master replied, No. The Jumper then asked the Mistress, who replied, Yes. She directed him to take out two very decent women, who attended at

at table, and to give each of them a dozen lashes. General Tottenham expostulated with her, but in vain. They were taken out to the publick parade, and he had the curiosity to go with them. The Jumper carried a long whip like our waggoners. He ordered one of the women to turn her back, and to take up her clothes entirely, and he gave her a dozen on the breech. Every stroke brought flesh from her. She behaved with astonishing fortitude. After the punishment, she, according to custom, curtesied and thanked him; the other had the same punishment, and behaved in the same way.

The punishments *in the country* by means of the whip and cow-skin appear to differ, except in one instance, from those which have been mentioned of *the town*.

It is usual for those, says Mr. Coor, who do not come into the field in time, to be punished. In this case a few steps before they join the gang they throw down the hoe, clap both hands on their heads, and patiently take ten, fifteen, or twenty lashes.

The mode of punishment, as seen by Captain Smith and several others (and which is the general mode) was as follows:—A negro was stretched on his belly on the ground, with a slave to hold each hand and leg, or each hand and leg was fastened to a stake. The punishment was inflicted by a negro with a long whip tapering from the size of a man's thumb to a small lash. At every stroke a piece of flesh was drawn out, and that with much unconcern to the director of the punishment.

There is another mode described by Mr. Coor. About eight o'clock, says he, the overseer goes to breakfast, and if he has any criminals at home, he orders a black man to follow him; for it is then usual to take such out of the stocks, and flog them before the overseer's house. — The method is generally this:—The delinquent is stripped and tied on a ladder, his legs on the sides and his arms above his head, and sometimes a rope is tied round his middle. The driver whips him on the bare skin, and if the overseer thinks he does not lay it on hard

hard enough; he sometimes knocks him down with his own hand, or makes him change places with the delinquent, and be severely whipped. Mr. Coor has known many receive on the ladder, from one hundred to one hundred and fifty lashes, and some two cool hundreds, as they are generally called. He has known many returned to confinement, and in one, two or three days, brought to the ladder, and receive the same compliment, or thereabouts, as before. They seldom take them off the ladder, until all the skin, from the hams to the small of the back, appears only raw flesh and blood, and then they wash the parts with salt pickle. This appeared to him, from the convulsions it occasioned, more cruel than the whipping, but it was done to prevent mortification. He has known many after such whipping sent to the field under a guard and worked all day, with no food but what their friends might give them, out of their own poor pittance. He has known them returned to the stocks at night, and worked next day, successively. This cruel whipping, hard working, and starving has, to his knowledge, made many commit suicide. He remembers fourteen slaves, who, from bad treatment, rebelled on a Sunday, ran into the woods, and all cut their throats together.

In speaking of the punishments of the slaves by means of the whip and cow-skin, it is impossible to pass over the frequency and severity of them as described in the evidence, as well as the lengths to which some of their owners go, upon these occasions.

On the frequency of these punishments something may be deduced from the different expressions which the different evidences adopt according to their different opportunities of observation. Many of the field slaves are said by Duncan, Dalrymple, Fitzmaurice, and Rees, to be marked with the whip. A great proportion of them is the term used by Captain Wilfon. That they are marked commonly or generally, or that the generality of them are marked, are the expressions agreed in by the Dean of Middleham, Lieutenant Simpson, Captain Ross, Captain Hall, (navy) Captain Giles, Captain Smith, and Lieutenant

tenant Davison. *The greater part of them, says Jeffreys, most of them, say Coor and Woolrich, bear the marks of the whip.* These marks again, says Giles, you will find on almost all the weaker part of the gang; and Falconbridge, General Tottenham, and Towne, agree in saying, either that they hardly ever saw any, or that very few were to be seen without scars or other marks of the whip.

With respect to the severity of these punishments, it may be shewn by describing the nature of the instrument with which they are inflicted, and the power it has, and the effect it produces, wherever it is seriously applied.

The whip, says Woolrich, is generally made of plaited cowskin, with a thick strong lash. It is so formidable an instrument in the hands of some of the overseers that by means of it they can take the skin off a horse's back. He has heard them boast of laying the marks of it in a deal board, and he has seen it done. On its application on a slave's back, he has seen the blood spurt out immediately on the first stroke \*.

† Nearly the same account of its construction is given by other evidences, and its power and effects are thus described. At every stroke, says Captain Smith, a piece of flesh was drawn out. Dalrymple avers the same thing. It will even bring blood through the breeches, says J. Terry; and such is the effusion of blood on those occasions, adds Fitzmaurice, as to make their frocks, if immediately put on, appear as stiff as buckram; and Coor observes, that at his first going to Jamaica, a flog of a common flogging would put him in a tremble, so that he did not feel right for the rest of the day. It is observed also by Dr.

\* The military whip, says General Tottenham, cuts the skin, whereas that for the negroes cuts out the flesh.

† Dr. Jackson and others mention another kind of whip in use, which they describe to be like what our waggoners use, and to be thrown at the distance of three or four paces, which the former observes greatly increases the weight of the lashes. To this whip Captain Cook alludes, when he says, a dextrous flogger could strike so exactly as to lodge the point of the lash just within the flesh, where it would remain till picked out with his finger and thumb.

Harrison and the Dean of Middleham, that the incisions are sometimes so deep that you may lay your fingers in the wounds. There are also wheals, says Mr. Coor, from their hams to the small of their backs. These wheals, cuts, or marks, as described by Captain Thompson, Dean of Middleham, Mr. Jeffreys, and General Tottenham, as indelible, as lasting to old age, or as such as no time can erase, and Woolrich has often seen their backs one undistinguished mass of lumps, holes, and furrows.

As farther proofs of the severity of these punishments by the whip or cow-skin, the following facts may be adduced. Duncan and Falconbridge have known them so whipped that they could not lie down. Fitzmaurice has often known pregnant women so severely whipped as to have miscarried in consequence of it. Clappeson also knew a pregnant woman whipped and delivered on the spot. Davison was once sent for to a woman slave, who miscarried from severe flogging, when both she and the child died. He knew also a new negro girl die of a mortification of her wounds two days after the whipping had taken place. A case similar to the last is also mentioned by Mr. Rees. Finding one day in his walks a woman lying down and groaning, he understood from her that she had been so severely whipped for running away, that she could hardly move from the place where she was. Her left side, where she had been most whipped, appeared in a mortifying state, and almost covered with worms. He relieved her, as she was hungry, and in a day or two afterwards going to visit her again, found she was dead and buried. To mention other instances: a planter flogged his driver to death, and even boasted of it to the person from whom Mr. Dalrymple had the account. Captain Hall also (of the navy) knows by an instance that fell under his eye, that a slave's death may be occasioned by severe punishment. Dr. Jackson thinks also severe whippings are sometimes the occasion of their death. He recollects a negro dying under the lash, or soon afterwards; and Captain Ross avers, that they often die in a few days after their severe punishments, for having but little food, and little care being taken

taken to keep the sores clean after the whipping, their death is often the consequence.

Having now collected what is said on the punishments by the whip and cow-skin, it will be proper to mention those other modes with which the evidence presents us. These, however, are not easily subject to a division from the great variety of their kinds.

1. Captain Cook, speaking of the towns, says, he has been shocked to see a girl of sixteen or seventeen, a domestick slave, running in the streets on her ordinary business, *with an iron collar, having two hooks projecting several inches both before and behind.*

Captain Ross, speaking of the country, has known slaves severely punished, then *put into the stocks, a cattle chain of sixty or seventy pounds weight put on them, and a large collar about their necks, and a weight of fifty-six pounds fastened to the chain when they were drove a-field.*

Mr. Cook states that, when runaways are brought in, they are generally severely flogged, and sometimes have *an iron boot put on one or both legs, and a chain or collar round their neck. The chain is locked, the collar fastened on by a rivet. When the collar is with three projections, it is impossible for them to lie down to sleep: even with two, they must lie uneasily.* He has seen collars with *four projections.* He never knew any injury from the chain and collar, but severely galling their necks. He has, however, known a negro *lose his leg from wearing the iron boot.*

2. Mr. Dalrymple, in June 1789, saw a negress brought to St. George's, Grenada, to have her fingers cut off. She had committed a fault, and ran away to avoid punishment; but being taken, her master *suspended her by the hands, flogged her and cut her cruelly on the back, belly, breast, and thighs, and then left her suspended till her fingers mortified.* In this state Mr. Dalrymple saw her at Dr. Gilpin's house.

3. Captain Ross has seen a negro woman, in Jamaica, flogged with *ebony bushes* (much worse than our own thorn-bushes) so that the *skin of her back was taken off, down to her heels.* She was then turned round and flog-

ged from her breast down to her waist, and in consequence he saw her afterwards walking upon all fours, and unable to get up.

4. Captain Cook being on a visit to General Frere at an estate of his in Barbadoes, and riding one morning with the General and two other officers, they saw near a house, upon a dunghill, a naked negro *nearly suspended, by strings from his elbows backwards, to the bough of a tree, with his feet barely upon the ground, and an iron weight round his neck, at least, to appearance of 14 lb.* weight: and thus *without one creature near him, or apparently near the house, was this wretch left exposed to the noon-day sun.* Returning a few hours after, they found him still in the same state, and would have released him, but for the advice of General Frere, who had an estate in the neighbourhood. The gentlemen, through disgust, shortened their visit, and returned the next morning.

5. Lieutenant Davison and Mr. Woolrich mention the *thumb-screw*, and Mr. Woolrich, Captain Ross, Mr. Clappeson, and Dr. Harrison, mention the *picket*, as instruments of punishment. A negro man, in Jamaica, says Dr. Harrison, was put on the *picket* so long as to cause a mortification of his foot and hand, on suspicion of robbing his master, a publick officer, of a sum of money, which it afterwards appeared, *the master had taken himself.* Yet the master was privy to the punishment, and the slave had no compensation. He was punished *by order of the master, who did not then chuse to make it known that he himself had made use of the money.*

6. Jeffreys, Captain Ross, M. Terry, and Coor, mention the *cutting off of ears*, as another species of punishment. The last gentleman gives the following instance in Jamaica. One of the house-girls having broken a plate, or spilt a cup of tea, the doctor, (with whom Mr. Coor boarded) nailed her ear to a post. Mr. Coor remonstrated with him in vain. They went to bed, and left her there. In the morning she was gone, *having torn the head of the nail through her ear.* She was soon brought back, and when Mr. Coor came to breakfast, he found she had been very severely whipped by the doctor,

tor, who in his fury, clipped both her ears off close to her head, with a pair of large scissars, and she was sent to pick seeds out of cotton, among three or four more, emaciated by his cruelties, until they were fit for nothing else.

7. Mr. M. Cook, while in Jamaica, knew a runaway slave brought in, with part of a turkey with him, which he had stolen, and which Mr. Cook thinks, *he had stolen from hunger, as he was nothing but skin and bone.* His master immediately made two negroes hold him down, and with a hammer and a punch, *knocked out two of his upper, and two of his under teeth.*

Mr. Dalrymple was informed by a young woman slave, in Grenada, who had no teeth, that her mistress had, *with her own hands, pulled them out;* and given her a severe flogging besides, the *pocks* of which she then bore. This relation was confirmed by several town's people of whom he inquired concerning it.

8. Mr. Jeffreys has seen slaves with one of their *hands off,* which he understood to have been cut off for *lifting it up against a white man.* Captain Lloyd also saw at Mrs. Winne's at Mammee Bay in Jamaica, a female slave, with but one hand only, the other having been cut off for the same offence. Mrs. Winne had endeavoured to prevent the amputation, but in vain, for her indentured white woman could not be dissuaded from swearing that the slave had struck her, and *the hand was accordingly cut off.*

9. Captain Giles, Doctor Jackson, Mr. Fitzmaurice, and Mr. M. Terry, have seen negroes whose *legs have been cut off, by their master's orders, for running away,* and Mr. Dalrymple gives the following account: A French planter, says he, in the English island of Grenada, sent for a surgeon to cut off the leg of a negro who had run away. On the surgeon's refusing to do it, the planter *took an iron bar, and broke the leg in pieces, and then the surgeon cut it off.* This planter did many such acts of cruelty, and all with impunity.

10. Mr. Fitzmaurice mentions, among other instances of cruelty, that of dropping hot lead upon negroes, which he often saw practised by a planter of the name of Rushie, during his residence in Jamaica.

11. Mr. Hercules Ross, hearing one day, in Jamaica, from an enclosure, the cries of some poor wretch under torture, he looked through, and saw a young female *suspended by the wrists to a tree, swinging to and fro.* Her toes could barely touch the ground, and her body was exceedingly agitated. The sight rather confounded him, as there was no whipping, and the master was just by, seemingly motionless; but, on looking more attentively, he saw in his hand *a stick of fire*, which he held so as occasionally to touch her about her private parts as she swung. He continued *this torture* with unmoved countenance, until Mr. H. Ross, calling on him to desist, and throwing stones at him over the fence, stopped it.

12. Mr. Fitzmaurice once found Rushie, the Jamaica planter before mentioned, *in the act of hanging a negro.* Mr. Fitzmaurice begged leave to intercede, as he was doing an action that, in a few minutes, he would repent of. Rushie, upon this, being a passionate man, ordered him off his estate. Mr. Fitzmaurice accordingly went, but returned early the next morning, before Rushie was up, and going into the curing-house, beheld the same negro *lying dead upon a board.* It was notorious that Rushie *had killed many* of his negroes, and destroyed them so fast, that he was obliged to sell his estate.— Captain Ross says also, that there was a certain planter in the same island, who *had hanged a negro on a post, close to his house,* and in three years destroyed forty negroes, *out of sixty, by severity.\** The rest of the conduct of this planter, as described by Captain Ross, was, after a debate, cancelled by the Committee of the House of Commons who took the evidence, as containing circumstances too horrible to be given to the world; and therefore the reader will find their places supplied by asterisks, in the evidence at large.

13. On Shrewsbury estate, in Jamaica, says Mr. Coor, the overseer sent for a slave, and in talking with him, *he hastily struck him on the head, with a small banger, and gave him two stabs about the waist.* The

\* It is not improbable, but that Captain Ross, and Mr. Fitzmaurice, allude to the same person.

slave said, "Overseer, you have killed me." He pushed him out of the piazza. The slave went home, and died that night. He was buried, and no more said about it. A manager of an estate, says Mr. Woolrich, in Tortola, whose owner did not reside on the island, sitting at dinner, in a sudden resentment at his cook, went directly to his sword, and ran the negro woman through the body, and she died upon the floor immediately, and the negroes were called in to take her away, and bury her.

14. Mr. Giles recollects several shocking instances of punishment. In particular, on the estate where he lived, in Monserrat, the driver at day-break once informed the overseer, that one of four or five negroes chained in the dungeon would not rise. He accompanied the overseer to the dungeon, who set the others that were in the chain to drag him out, and not rising when out, he ordered a bundle of cane-trash to be put round him, and set fire to. As he still did not rise, he had a small soldering iron heated, and thrust between his teeth. As the man did not yet rise, he had the chains taken off, and sent him to the hospital, where he languished some days, and died.

15. An overseer, on the estate where Mr. J. Terry was in Grenada, (Mr. Coghlan) threw a slave into the boiling cane-juice, who died in four days. Mr. J. Terry was told of this by the owner's son, by the carpenter, and by many slaves on the estate. He has heard it often.

16. Mr. Woolrich says, a negro ran away from a planter in Tortola, with whom he was well acquainted. The overseer having orders to take him dead or alive, a while after found him in one of his huts, fast asleep, in the day time, and shot him through the body. The negro jumping up, said, "What you kill me asleep;" and dropped dead immediately. The overseer took off his head, and carried it to the owner. Mr. Woolrich knew another instance in the same island. A planter, offended with his waiting man, a mulatto, stepped suddenly to his gun, on which the man ran off, but his master shot him through the head with a single ball.

From the above accounts, there are no less than *sixteen* sorts of extraordinary punishments, which the imagination has invented in the moments of passion and caprice. It is much to be lamented, that there are others in the evidence not yet mentioned. But as it is necessary to insert a new head, under which will be explained the concern which *the very \* women take*, both in the ordinary and extraordinary punishments of the slaves, and as some of the latter, not yet mentioned, are inseparably connected with it, it was thought proper to cite them under this new division rather than continue them under the old.

It will appear extraordinary to the reader, that many women, living in the colonies, should not only *order*, and often *superintend*, but sometimes actually *inflict with their own hands* some severe punishments upon their slaves, and that these should not always be women of a low order, but *frequently of respectability and rank*.

In the instance of whipping, mentioned by General Tottenham (p. 60) we find the order for it given by the wife of a planter, whom the General was visiting, though the husband had declined it on his part. *A lady* is represented by Mr. Cook as having her domestics flogged every Monday morning. Capt. Cook represents a woman of *respectable condition* as sending her servant to be flogged for *a mistake only*. Lieutenant Davison has often known the mistress send her domestics to be punished and without telling them for what. He has seen a slave also, both whose nostrils had been slit by her mistress's order, who was of *some consequence*, being the wife of the chief engineer of the island; and he also remembers a new negro girl, flogged by the order of her mistress, who died in two days afterwards of her wounds.

Lieutenant Davison, Captain Smith, and Dr. Jackson, all agree that it was common for ladies of *respectability*

\* The Editor feels a reluctance in mentioning women on this occasion, but when he considers how much the explanation of their conduct will shew the iniquity of the system of slavery, and its baneful influence on those most disposed to benevolence and compassion, he feels it a duty to proceed in the narration without any farther apology.

*and rank to superintend the punishment of their slaves.* Conformably with this, we find Dr. Harrison stating to the Committee, that a negro, in Jamaica, was flogged to death by her mistress's order, who stood by to see the punishment. Lieutenant Davison also states, that in the same island, he has seen several negro girls at work with the needle, in the presence of their mistresses, with a thumb-screw on their left thumbs, and he has seen the blood gush out from the ends of them. He has also seen a negro girl made to kneel with her bare knees on pebbles, and to work there at the same time; a sort of punishment, he says, among the domestics, which he knows to be in common use.

On the subject of women becoming the executioners of their own fury, Doctor Jackson observes, that the first thing that shocked him in Jamaica was a creole lady, of *some consequence, superintending the punishment of her slaves, male and female, ordering the number of lashes, and, with her own hands, flogging the negro driver, if he did not punish properly.*

Capt. Cook relates, that two young ladies of fortune, in Barbadoes, sisters, one of whom was displeased at the pregnancy of a female slave belonging to the other, by the son of the surgeon attending the estate, proceeded to some very derogatory acts of cruelty. *With their own garters they tied the young woman neck and heels, and then beat her almost to death with the heels of their shoes.* One of her eyes continued a long while afterwards in danger of being lost. They after this continued to use her ill, confining and degrading her. Captain Cook came in during the beating, and was an eye witness to it himself.

Capt. Cook states farther, that he saw a woman, named Rachael Lauder, beat a female slave most unmercifully. Having *bruised her head almost to a jelly, with the heel of her shoe,* she threw her with great force on the seat of the child's necessary, and *then tried to stamp her head through the hole,* and would have murdered her, if not prevented by two officers. The girl's crime was the not bringing money enough from on board ship,

where

where she was sent by her mistress for the purpose of prostitution..

Lieutenant Davison states, in his evidence, that the clergyman's wife at Port Royal, was remarkably cruel. She used to drop hot sealing wax on her negroes, after flogging them. He was sent for as surgeon to one of them, whose breast was terribly burnt with sealing wax. He was also once called in to a woman slave, who had been tied up all night by her hands, and had been abused with cayenne pepper, by the same mistress, and in a way too horrid and indecent to mention. He lived next door, he states also, to a washer-woman at Port Royal, who was almost continually flogging her negroes. He has often gone in and remonstrated against her cruelty, when he has seen the negro women chained to the washing tubs, almost naked, with their thighs and backs in a gore of blood, from flogging.. He could mention various other capricious punishments, if necessary.

Mr. Forster, examined on the same subject, says he has known a creole woman in Antigua, drop hot sealing wax on a girl's back, after a flogging. He and many others saw a young woman of fortune and character flogging a negro man very severely with her own hands. Many similar instances he could relate if necessary. They are almost innumerable among the domestick slaves.

If it should be asked for what offences the different punishments now cited have taken place, the following answer may be given.

The slaves appear to have been punished, as far as can be ascertained from the evidence under the head of ordinary punishments, for not coming into the field in time, not picking a sufficient quantity of grafts, not appearing willing to work, when in fact sick and not able, for staying too long on an errand, for not coming immediately when called, for not bringing home, (the women) the full weekly sum enjoined by their owners, for running away, and for theft, to which they were often driven by hunger.

Under the head of "extraordinary punishments," some appear to have suffered for running away, or for lifting up a hand against a white man, or for breaking a plate,

*plate, or spilling a cup of tea, or to extort confession.* Others again in the moments of sudden resentment, and one on a diabolical pretext, which the master held out to the world to conceal his own villainy, and which he knew to be false.

Under the head of “the part which the very women take in these punishments,” a female slave is punished for *being found pregnant*; another for not bringing home the *full wages of prostitution*; another for *jealousy* on the part of her mistress; others again, from an opinion that slaves could not be managed without severity; and others in the moments of passion, *without even the allegation of a fault*. In short, it appears that they are often punished as caprice and passion dictates; and to such lengths do people go whose minds are depraved by the exercise of unlimited power, that we find an instance in the evidence, related by Dr. Harrison, (who knows also others of the kind), of a man buying a negro, who belonged to another man, but who mimicked him, for the purpose of *gratifying his revenge*. After having bought him, he ordered him to be punished, and the consequence was, that *the slave cut his own throat*.

On the subject of capital offences and punishments, a man and a woman slave are mentioned to have been hanged, the man for \* running away, and the woman for having secreted him. The Dean of Middleham saw two instances of slaves being gibbeted alive in chains, but he does not say for what, only that this is the punishment for enormous crimes: and Mr. Jeffreys, the only other person who speaks on this subject, says, that he was in one of the islands, when some of the slaves murdered a white man, and destroyed some property on the estate. The execution of these he describes as follows:

He was present, he says, at the execution of seven negroes in Tobago, in the year 1774, whose right arms were chopped off; they were then dragged to seven stakes; and a fire, consisting of trash and dry wood, was

\* Slaves running away are punished variously, but on absenting themselves for a certain time, they may be punished with death.

lighted about them. They were there burnt to death. He does not remember hearing one of them murmur, complain, cry, or do any thing that indicated fear. One of them in particular, named Chubb, was taken in the woods that morning, was tried about noon, and was thus executed with the rest in the evening. Mr. Jeffreys stood close by Chubb when his arm was cut off. He stretched his arm out, and laid it upon the block, pulled up the sleeve of his shirt, with more coolness than he, (Mr. Jeffreys) should have done, if he had been to be let blood. He afterwards would not suffer himself to be dragged to the stake, as the others had been, but got upon his feet, and walked to it. As he was going to the stake, he turned about, and addressed himself to Mr. Jeffreys, who was standing within two or three yards of him, and said, " Buckra, you see me now, but to-morrow I shall be like that," kicking up the dust with his foot. (Here Mr. Jeffreys solemnly added in his evidence the words, " So help me God.") The impression this made upon his mind, Mr. Jeffreys declared, no time ever could erase. Sampson, who made the eighth, and a negro, whose name Mr. Jeffreys does not recollect, was present at this execution. Sampson, next morning was hung in chains alive, and there he hung till he was dead, which, to the best of his recollection, was seven days. The other negro was sentenced to be sent to the mines in South America, and, he believes, was sent accordingly. Neither of those two, during the time of the execution, shewed any marks of concern, or dismay, that he could observe. A stronger instance of human fortitude, he declared, he never saw.

Having now stated the substance of the evidence on the subject of offences and punishments, we come to a custom which appears too general to be passed over in silence.

Dalrymple, Forster, Captain Smith, Captain Wilson, and General Tottenham, assert that it is *no uncommon thing* for persons to *neglect and turn off* their slaves when past labour. They *are turned off*, say Captain Wilson, Lieutenant.

Lieutenant Davison, and General Tottenham, to plunder, beg, or starve. Captain Cook has known some take care of them ; but says, others leave them to starve and die. They are often desired when old, says Mr. Fitz-maurice, to provide for themselves, and they suffer much. Mr. Clappeson knew a man who had an old, decrepid woman slave, to whom he would allow nothing. When past labour, the owner did not feed them, says Giles ; and Cook states that, within his experience, they had no food but what they could get from such relations as they might have had. This is the account given by the different witnesses ; and accordingly we find some of the superannuated slaves on the different estates, who wanted every thing (Harrison); others begging (Rees); others digging in the dunghill for food, (Dalrymple); and others lying, miserable objects, about the wharfs and beaches, and in the roads and streets (Jeffreys, J. Woodward, and Cook). General Tottenham has often met them, and, once in particular, an old woman, past labour, who told him that her master had set her adrift to shift for herself. He saw her about three days afterwards, lying dead in the same place. This custom of turning them off when old and helpless is called in the islands (Captain Wilson and Captain Lloyd) " Giving them free."

As a proof how little the life of an old slave is regarded in the West Indies, we may make the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Coor. Once when he was dining with an overseer, an old woman who had run away a few days, was brought home, with her hands tied behind. After dinner, the overseer, with the clerks, named Bakewell, took the woman, thus tied, to the hot-house, a place for the sick, and where the stocks are in one of the rooms. Mr. Coor went to work in the mill, about one hundred yards off, and hearing a most distressful cry from that house, he asked his men, who and what it was. They said they thought it was old Quasheba. About five o'clock the noise ceased, and about the time he was leaving work, Bakewell came to him, apparently in great spirits, and said, " Well, Mr. Coor, Old Quasheba is dead. We took her to the stocks-

stocks-room ; the overseer threw a rope over the beam, I was Jack Ketch, and hauled her up, till her feet were off the ground. The overseer locked the door, and took the key with him, till my return just now, with a slave for the stocks, when I found her dead." Mr. Coor said, " You have killed her, I heard her cry all the afternoon." He answered, " *D—n her for an old b—h, she was good for nothing; what signifies killing such an old woman as her.*" Mr. Coor said, " Bakewell, you shock me," and left him. The next morning his men told him, they had helped to bury her.

But it appears that the aged are not the only persons whose fate is to be commiserated, when they become of no value; for people in youth, if disabled are abandoned to equal misery. General Tottenham, about three weeks before the hurricane, saw a youth, about nineteen, walking in the streets, in a most deplorable situation, entirely naked, with an iron collar about his neck, with five long projecting spikes. His body, before and behind, his breech, belly, and thighs, were almost cut to pieces, and with running sores all over them, and you might put your finger in some of the wheals. He could not sit down, owing to his breech being in a state of mortification, and it was impossible for him to lie down, from the projection of the prongs. The boy came to the General, and asked relief. He was shocked at his appearance, and asked him what he had done to suffer such a punishment, and who inflicted it. He said it was his master, who lived about two miles from town, and that as he could not work, he would give him nothing to eat.

If it be possible to view human depravity in a worse light than it has already appeared in on the subject of the treatment of the slaves when disabled from labour, it may be done by referring to the evidence of Capt. Lloyd, who was told by a person of veracity, when in the West Indies, but whom he did not wish to name in his evidence, that it was the practice of a certain planter to frame pretences for the execution of his old worn out slaves,

in order get the \* island allowance. And it was supposed that he dealt largely in that way.

Having now cited both the ordinary and extraordinary punishments inflicted upon the slaves, it may be presumed that some one will ask here, whether, under these various acts of cruelty, they are wholly without redress? To this, the following answer may be given—That, with respect to the ordinary punishments, by the whip and cow-skin (where they do not terminate in death) the power of the master or overseer is under little or no controul.

First, Because, as we have already seen, they can order or inflict punishment for any, even imaginary, offences.

Secondly, Because the law of thirty-nine lashes (the greatest number allowed to be given to a slave, at any one time) is a mere farce, and never attended to by masters or owners, if they should think it proper to inflict more: for, Woolrich says, that the chief whipper lays on their back forty, fifty, sixty, or more lashes, *at the pleasure of the owner or overseer*. Captain Ross has known negroes receive two hundred lashes, where the law would give only thirty-nine. Mr. Cook has known a field slave receive two hundred lashes, *by order of the overseer*, and a domestick fifty, *by order of his mistress*. Mr. M. Terry also observes, that the law was restricted to thirty-nine, but it was not *in the least* attended to during his experience. He has, in short, *seen it broken repeatedly*. The same language is also spoken by others.

Thirdly, Because, if there should be some, who bear the law in their minds, at the time of punishing, they evade it by various means. Whipping, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, was understood to be limited to thirty-nine lashes; but it was often evaded *by putting the negro into the stocks, and giving him thirty-nine for the same offence, next day*. We find also, by Captain Ross's account, a magistrate, and of course, a guardian of the laws, evading it in like manner; for that gentleman has seen John

\* The island allowance in Jamaica to the master is 40*s.* currency for any one of his slaves if executed for a breach of the laws.

Shackle, Esq. a magistrate in Jamaica, flogging a negro three times in one day, name'y at breakfast, dinner, and at six in the evening : but the negro was in the stocks between the foggings. Captain Cook also expressly says, that the law may be evaded by splitting a crime into many, and, by intervals, dividing the times of punishment ; and of this, where slaves are punished at home, he says there are daily instances. Returning home one evening late with Major Fitch of the 90th regt. they heard most dreadful cries, and, on approaching the square at Bridge-town, found they proceeded from the house of a man that sold liquor, and heard the repeated lashes of a whip, on a creature whom they conceived to be dying. On their requesting admission, the cruelty seemed to be wantonly increased, which so provoked them that they broke open the door, and found a negro girl of about nineteen, chained to the floor, almost expiring with agony and loss of blood. The man taking refuge behind his counter from their indignation, and thinking himself free from the law, immediately cried out with exultation, that he had only given her thirty-nine lashes at one time, and that only three times since the beginning of the night. He then threatened them for breaking his door, and interfering between him and his slave, whom he would flog to death for all any one, and he would give her the fourth thirty-nine lashes before morning; which must have killed her, as she seemed then to be dying. In short, to use the language of the different evidences, it appears that the slaves have no legal redress, in the case alluded to, against their masters and mistresses, the latter of whom, even when they become the executioners on such occasions, are not received the worse for it in society. Perhaps, says Dr. Jackson, "such a one might be called a termagant, but she was not the less respected. It was indeed thought necessary for an industrious wife to be rigid in the punishment of her slaves." It is impossible to omit mentioning here that Lieutenant Davison was so hurt at the severe and frequent whippings of one of these women, that he complained to a magistrate, who said he had nothing to do with it.

With

With respect to the overseer, whom we have seen also exercising a discretionary power, he is certainly subject to the controul of the master, if he resides, and in case of his non-residence, to that of the attorney of the estate: but then, says J. Terry, the slaves, if severely punished for trifling faults, *dare not* complain of him to the master for fear of worse treatment. J. Terry has known them *punished by their master* for so doing, and sent back to the plantation, though their complaints were just. Mr. Cook also has known slaves *punished for complaining to the master*, and, in his absence, to *the attorney against the overseer*, for ill usage. If again, says Coor, the slaves complain to the attorney, and the attorney listens, the overseer says he will *leave the estate*. He has also seen the attorney wink at the oppression of the slaves, because he has a *per centage* on the crop, and the more the overseer pushes them, the more the attorney gains. The *same per centage* on the crop is acknowledged also by Lieut. Davison. Captain Ross nevertheless states that overseers are often turned away for severe whippings; but he is the only one of the evidences who says so, and it appears that there must be frequently great obstacles to this; for it is observed by Davison, Fitzmaurice, and Cook, that some attorneys live *thirty, forty, or fifty miles from the estate*, and of course the slaves \* *cannot go to complain*; and the same three gentlemen, together with Coor, J. Terry, and Duncan, state that on some estates one person holds the office of attorney and overseer *at the same time*, where his power is of course under no controul.

As to such of the extraordinary punishments before mentioned as did not terminate in death, such as picketing, dropping hot sealing-wax on the flesh, cutting off ears and the like, it appears that slaves had no redress whatever, for that these actions also on the part of the masters were not deemed within the reach of the law. In the instance cited of the Doctor clipping off the ears

\* If a slave should be seen any day, except Sunday, wandering about, and even then without a ticket, he would be taken up, put into gaol, and advertised as a runaway.

of a female slave, no more notice was taken of it, says Coor, than if a dog's ears had been cut off; though it must have been known to the magistrates. In the dreadful instance also cited of a planter's breaking his slave's leg, by an iron bar, to induce the surgeon to cut it off, as a punishment, Mr. Dalrymple observes that it was not the publick opinion, that any punishment was due to him on that account, for though it was generally known, he was equally well received in society afterwards as before: and in the case also mentioned of the owner torturing his female slave by the application of a lighted torch to her body, Mr. H. Ross states only, that this owner was not a man of character: with respect to his suffering by the law, he observes that he was never brought to any trial for it; and he did not know that the law then extended to the punishment of whites for such acts as these.

With respect to such of the punishments as have terminated in death, the reader will be able to collect, what power the masters and overseers, and what protection the slaves have had by the law, from the following accounts.

There are no less than seven specifick instances mentioned in the evidence, in which slaves died in consequence of the whipping they received, and yet in no one of them was the murderer brought to an account. One of the perpetrators is mentioned by Mr. Dalrymple as having boasted of what he had done; and Dr. Jackson speaks of the other in these words; "No attempts, says he, were made to bring him to justice: people said it was an unfortunate thing, and were surprized he was not more cautious, as it was not the first thing of the kind that had happened to him; but they dwelt chiefly on the proprietor's loss."

In such of the extraordinary punishments, as terminated in death, there are no less than seven specifick instances also in the evidence. In one of them viz. that of throwing the slave into the boiling cane-juice, we find from Mr. J. Terry, the overseer punished, but his punishment consisted only of replacing the slave and leaving his owner's service. In that of killing the slave by lighting a fire round him and putting a hot soldering iron into

his

his mouth, the overseer's conduct, says Mr. Giles, was not even condemned by his master ; nor in any of the rest were any means whatsoever used to punish the offenders. In the three mentioned by Mr. Woolrich he particularly says, *all the white people in the island were acquainted with these facts.* Neither of the offenders, however, were called to an account, nor were they shunned in society for it, or considered as in disgrace.

In going over the evidence we find three or four other instances, not yet cited in this chapter. The first is that of an huckster in Antigua, who murdered his woman slave with circumstances of the most atrocious barbarity. This man however was tried, convicted, and—fined. He is represented by Mr. Forster, as having been universally blamed, but he was dealt with as usual in the course of trade.

At Grenada in the town of St. George, a mason, named Chambers, killed a negro in the middle of the day, and Mr. Dalrymple believes in the church yard, but no notice was taken of it.

Two slaves, says Captain Cook, were murdered and thrown into the road during his residence in Barbadoes : yet no legal inquiry ever took place that he heard of.

He was repeatedly informed by the inhabitants that they did not chuse to make examples of white men there, fearing it might be attended with dangerous consequences.

Going over the evidence we come at last to an instance (and the only instance of the kind mentioned) of a white man being hanged for the murder of another's slave ; and it is very remarkable, that he should be represented as having been hanged more because he was *an obnoxious man*, than that the murder of a slave was considered as a crime : for Mr. Dalrymple states that the Chief Justice of the Island (Grenada) told him, he believed if this murderer, whose name was Bacchus Preston, had been a man of good character, or had had friends or money to have paid for the slave, he would not have been brought to trial. He was of a *very bad character* and had been obliged to leave Barbadoes upon that account. At Gre-

nada he had been a *Bailiff's follower*, and, from his *rigour* in executing his office and *bad character*, he was particularly *obnoxious to the inhabitants of the town of St. George.*

Such appears to have been, in the experience of the different evidences cited, the forlorn and wretched situation of the slaves. They often complain, says Dr. Jackson, that they are an oppressed people; that *they suffer in this world, but expect happiness in the next*; whilst they denounce the *vengeance of God on the white men their oppressors*: if you speak to them of future punishments they say, "*Why should a poor negro be punished; he does no wrong; fiery cauldrons, and such things, are reserved for white people, as punishments for the oppression of slaves.*"

If it should be asked here, whether some new laws have not lately passed the legislature of some of the islands with a view of amending the situation of the slaves, it must be answered in the affirmative. The first is the celebrated consolidated act of Jamaica, and the other is an act of the assembly of Grenada, entitled "*an act for the better protection and promoting the increase and population of slaves.*" These acts, however, the evidence obliges us to observe, *never originated in any intention to serve the slaves, and are in reality of little or no use.*

Captain Giles, who was in Jamaica both before and since the passing of the consolidated act, gives his evidence without any distinction of this epoch, and *as if no difference had happened in the treatment of the slaves.*

Mr. Cook, long resident also in the same island, and since the passing of the act, knows of *no legal protection that slaves have against injuries from their masters.*

Mr. Clappeson, examined expressly on the subject, says that he was in Jamaica when the assembly passed the consolidated law. He has often heard it was passed because of *the stir in England about the slave trade.* He never heard that *any regard* was paid to it, slaves being *still treated as before*: nor did he ever hear of any prosecution for such disregard. He recollects an instance of disregard to it, which came under his eye. The owner of an old and decrepid female slave would allow her neither victuals nor clothing; upon which he advised a son

of the woman to complain to a magistrate, who would perhaps order her to be taken care of, if he regarded the law; but he believes *he was deterred from fear of punishment*, as that owner treated his slaves very harshly in general.

With respect to the other act, namely that passed in Grenada, Mr. J. Terry says, that the opinion there upon passing it was, that *it never would have the intended effect*. He did not observe it make *any difference*, except in the *half days* in the week. The clergymen of the parish where he resided, never performed the duty *the act imposed* on them, and he never heard of *any complaints* against them for the *non-performance* of it.

Mr. Dalrymple states he was in Grenada, in 1788, when the act was passed. The principal objection, and which he repeatedly heard, to its passing was, that it might make the slaves *believe, that the authority of their masters was lessened*: but otherwise, many thought it would be of *little use*, as it was a law *made by themselves against themselves, and to be executed by themselves*: they observed besides, that such laws were unnecessary for the protection of negroes who were treated well; and that others had *so many opportunities of evading the law (the evidence of negroes not being admitted)* that it would be of *no use*. At the time of passing the said act, the proposal in the British Parliament for the abolition of the slave-trade was a matter of general discussion in the island: and he believes *was a principal reason for passing it*. Mr. Dalrymple believes *it will prove ineffectual*: because, as *no negro evidence is admitted*, those who abuse them *will still do it with impunity*; and people, who live on terms of intimacy, would dislike the idea of *becoming spies and informers against each other*.

All the facts having been now cited, and the observations made, which it was intended to introduce into this chapter, it may be concluded in the words of the Rev. Mr. Stuart, and General Tottenham.

The former says, he is warranted in declaring the negroes an oppressed and much injured race, and in no better estimation than labouring cattle, and every description

scription of their treatment he has met with falls short of their real state. He read Mr. Ramsay's Essay in manuscript at St. Kitt's, and comparing it on the spot with the treatment of the slaves, he thought it too favourable.

The latter stated to the Committee, that he thought the slaves in Barbadoes were treated with the greatest barbarity, and that he was very positive that the impression concerning their treatment was made on his mind at the time and on the spot, for he repeatedly told the people of Bridgetown, that he hoped to live to see the unfortunate situation of these poor wretches taken up by some Member of Parliament, and that, should such an event take place, he should look upon it as his duty to offer a voluntary declaration of what he knew of the matter.

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### C H A P. V.

*Whether the Natives of Africa, thus procured, transported, and enslaved, are not equal to the Europeans in Capacity, Feeling, Affection, and Moral Character; and whether, if Individuals should be found inferior in Moral Character, it be not owing to their Connection with the latter, or to the Trade in Slaves..*

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**M**R. WADSTROM thinks the understandings of the natives of Africa capable of equal improvement with those of the whites, and, as a proof, he states several of the manufactures, which they carry on from the River Senegal to the River Sallum.

The natives, says he, are particularly skilful in manufacturing gold and iron. The art of working the former, he

he believes, they derived from the Moors, but they are now almost the sole artists themselves, having never seen but one Moor working in that branch. They are equal to any European goldsmith in filagree or trinket work, and even in other articles, such as buckles, except in the chases, tongues, and anchors, which they do not manufacture so well. The iron which they forge is on anvils of a remarkable hard and heavy wood, when they cannot get stone for the purpose.

They manufacture also *cloth* and *leather*, with uncommon neatness. The former they dye also blue, yellow, brown, and orange. The cloth is made best at Sallum. The latter they tan and work into sandals, and into a variety of useful and ornamental articles.

Besides the above, they are skilful in making *indigo* and *soap*. They make also *pottery ware*, and prepare *salt* for their own use from the sea water.

They make also canoes, but as wood of a sufficiently close texture is seldom found on the sea shore, they make them principally in the interior parts. Here they shape, but do not hollow them. When shaped, they are dragged, by a number of the natives for weeks together (each village generally undertaking to drag them to the next, and receiving in return partly European merchandize, and partly fish and salt) till they come to the sea shore. The ropes, with which they drag them, are made of a kind of aloe, growing abundantly in the country; and when well made by the natives, they are exceedingly strong and good.

Mr. Wadstrom offered to produce, if necessary, specimens of several of the above manufactures, which he had brought with him from the coast.

Nearly the same accounts are given of their manufactures by Dalrymple, Kiernan, and Captain Wilson: and Hall, Newton, Surgeon Wilson, Sir George Young, Falconbridge, Captain Thompson, and Towne, (without enumerating many of their manufactures like the former) declare their capacities, either to be *good*, or *equal to those of the Europeans*.

With

With respect to their feeling and affection one instance may be taken from Mr. Falconbridge. Being sent to choose some slaves out of a yard at Cape Coast Castle, he objected to one that was meagre, and put him aside. Mr. Falconbridge observing a tear steal down the man's cheek, which the man also endeavoured to conceal, inquired of him the reason,—upon which he said he was going to be parted from his brother.

As a second instance, Surgeon Wilson says, that at Bonny, one of the people called Breeches, of the higher class, was brought on board. He seemed to take his situation to heart, and became ill; but from indulgencies, which none of the rest had, he partly recovered. When he was convalescent, a young woman was also brought on board, who proved to be his sister. On their first meeting, they stood in silence, and looked at each other apparently with the greatest affection;—they rushed into each others arms—embraced—separated themselves again,—and again embraced. Surgeon Wilson perceived the tears to run down the female's cheeks. The man had a return of his former complaint, and his sister attended him with the greatest care. The first thing she did of a morning, was to come to Surgeon Wilson, and ask how her brother did. He at length died—on the news of this, his sister wept bitterly, tore her hair, and shewed other signs of distraction. They carried her safe to South America, and there delivered her as a slave.

As a third instance, that mentioned by J. Parker may be introduced, (page 43) of the poor woman turning her head on one side, when obliged by the whip to drop her dead child overboard, and weeping afterwards for many hours.

Mr. Wadstrom is clearly convinced, that the natives of Africa actually *surpass* in affection such of the Europeans as he has known.

On the moral character of the natives, Mr. Wadstrom says, that they are *very honest and hospitable*. He has often passed days and nights alone with them without the least fear, and was treated with all civility and kindness.

Captain Wilson calls them *grateful and affectionate*.— They treated him most kindly, he says, when many miles up their country, and unprotected, vying with each other in entertaining him, and numbers shed tears at his departure.

Captain Thompson, in speaking of them, calls them *harmless and innocent*. Storey, Dalrymple, Howe, Towne, and Bowman, join in the epithets of “ *Friendly and hospitable*;” to which the latter adds, “ *just and punctual in their dealings*;” and they are described by Hall to be *as capable of virtue as the whites*.

Such appears to be the moral character of the Africans when they have but little intercourse with the Europeans, or the trade in slaves: but *as they become connected with these*, it appears by the evidence, that it becomes proportionably changed.

In proof of this, Mr. Newton observes, that the natives are often friendly, and may be trusted, where not previously deceived by the Europeans. He has lived in safety among them when the only white man there. *The best people he ever met with were on the river Gaboon and at Cape Lopez.* These had then *the least intercourse with Europe*, and he believes *no trade in slaves*, for their trade was *ivory and wax*, and he has heard them speak in emphatick terms *against the other*.

Dr. Trotter says, they are *susceptible of all the social virtues*, and he has seen no bad habits, but among those (one instance excepted) who were engaged in trade with the whites.

Lieutenant Storey says, that they are more honest *inland than upon the shore*.

They are also described by Mr. Towne to be in general *hospitable and kind*, but to differ as our own people in character. Those, who live *inland*, are *innocent*: those on the *coast* learn to be *roguish*, which he ascribes to *their intercourse with the Europeans*.

The same accounts are also given of them after their arrival in the West Indies. Giles and Woo'rich observe their intellects to be good, and Harrison, Jackson, Duncan, Stuart, Cook, the Dean of Middleham, and Rees, to be equil

*equal to those of the Europeans.* The same equality to the whites is mentioned by Garrison, Cook, Duncan, and Davies, to hold good with respect to their dispositions also. Generosity, fidelity, and gratitude, are allowed them by Stuart. These virtues Dr. Jackson enumerates, and adds, charity to all in distress, and a strong attachment on the part of the parents to their children. Baillie insists on the same, of which he gives some instances, and Woolrich, after stating that he knows of no exception to their possessing the social affections as strongly as the whites, says, that he never knew an African, who could express himself, but allowed of a Supreme Being.

To this account may be added the words of Captain Smith, who says, he always considered them as a keen, sensible, well-disposed people, where their habits were not vitiated by cruel usage on the part of the Europeans.

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## C H A P. VI.

*Whether the Natives of Africa have not many and valuable Productions in their own Country, in which they could offer a Trade to the Europeans in the Place of the Trade in Slaves.*

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**A**MONG the productions of Africa, mentioned by the different evidences, may be reckoned millet of various sorts, pulse, Indian corn, and rice.† Of the last of these articles it appears to have been proved often by experiment, that it is much heartier and better than the Carolina.

† The African rice has a red husk, but is beautifully white when the husk is taken off.

In the next class may be reckoned cotton, indigo, tobacco, and the sugar cane. Dalrymple says of the cotton, that it is esteemed far superior to that from the West Indies. He says the same of the sugar cane, and as to the indigo, it is considered to be equal to that from Guatimala.

In the next class may be mentioned black pepper, the same as from the East Indies, long pepper, Malaguetta, or grains of paradise, red pepper of various sorts, but particularly the cayenne, a species of ginger, cardamoms, wild nutmegs, and cinnamon. Mr. How says of the cinnamon, that one sort of it is not inferior to that imported from the East Indies. Some of the former brought to England fetched a better price than the latter. He has seen the real cinnamon both at Bombay and Cambay, brought there as presents from Ceylon, and says, that the bark, leaves, and whole structure of the tree are alike in Africa and the East Indies. He has no doubt whatever but that \* spices in general might be cultivated with great success in the African soil and climate.

In the fourth class it may be mentioned that there are gums of various kinds, but particularly the gum copal: *Afifætida* also is to be found in Africa, and Mr. Wadstrom asserts, that the celebrated Dr. Spaarmann, his fellow-traveller, among nearly three thousand plants, which he collected there for the Cabinet of Natural History of the Royal Academy at Stockholm, found a great part, if not the whole, of the *Materia Medica*, as well as drugs for various manufacturing uses.

In the fifth class may be included woods and roots. Among these are mentioned iron, wood, bar-wood, cam-wood, and ebony: also various woods, roots, and vegetables for dying: the root of a plant called Fooden, dyes scarlet, and the stalks of it a beautiful yellow. There are also orange and brown dyes produced from vegetable productions, which grow in such abundance, says Mr. Wadstrom, in the dominions of Damé, that his whole army is dressed in cloth that is dyed from these. The

\* Captain Thompson only heard of the wild nutmegs being there, whereas the other articles have both been seen and collected.

same gentleman mentions also a kind of bean, in his possession, which is also used in dying, and carried on camels for this purpose, in quantities, to Morocco. There are also timber trees. Of the latter a species of the *Ticktonia grandis* is found in plenty all over the Gold Coast. This wood is considered as *the best in the world for ship building*, the worm neither touching, nor the iron corroding it. Sir George Young says, in addition to this, that he has found a great deal of fine timber fit for ship-building on other parts of the coast, and he once saw a vessel actually built of the woods of Sierra Leone. Besides these, it is asserted by several of the evidences, that there are beautiful woods for cabinet work, and Mr. How states, that there are many parts of Africa, where the soil is the same as that in the Province of Guzzerat in the East Indies, where he found the real sandal-wood.

To the productions above may be added, in a sixth class, *wax, honey, palm-oil, ivory, and gold*; and in a seventh, *plantanes, yams, sweet potatoes, eddoes, cassada, cocoa nuts, bananas, pine apples, oranges, limes, wild grapes, and all other tropical productions.*

## C H A P. VII.

*Whether the Natives of Africa have not a sufficient spirit of Commerce, as well as a sufficient Portion of Industry among them, to embark in a new Trade in the Productions of their own Country; but whether the Slave-trade be not an insuperable Impediment thereto.*

**M**R. WADSTROM observes of the natives of Africa, that they have *an extraordinary genius for commerce*, and that their industry is in all regards proportionate to their demands.

Confist.

Consistently with this idea, we find some of them not only cultivating sufficient provisions for themselves, but an overplus for certain towns (Kiernan, Wadstrom, Wilson, and Howe); others cultivating corn and rice for the shipping that come among them, (Kiernan, Falconbridge, Dove, Bowman, Wadstrom, Hall, Newton); others bringing large bundles of rice on their heads of forty or fifty pounds weight from the inland country to the sea shore, and then travelling back loaded with European goods, (Hall, Storey, Bowman); others going in armed bodies even a month's journey inland with various articles for trade, (Storey); others wooding and watering the ships, (Falconbridge); and others hiring themselves out to the Europeans to work at a low price both in boats and on the shore, (Newton, Sir George Young, and Thompson.)

In short, says Hall, they were never indolent *when they could work to advantage*. They were willing to do any thing, says Morley, *for which they had a prospect of being paid*. They were always industrious, says Dalrymple, *where there was a demand*. Bowman believes they would have put more land into cultivation than they did when he was there, *had a greater supply of rice been wanted* by the shipping—they told him that they should like to trade more in their own produce; and Falconbridge is so sure, that, *if properly encouraged*, they would make any change the Europeans pleased, that he *is himself going again to Africa* to make the experiment.

Mr. Kiernan speaks in the same terms. They cultivate, says he, *cotton, indigo, and tobacco*, but this they do *for themselves only*; for though they are never backward when encouraged, yet the Europeans have encouraged them only to raise provisions, and *never the other articles*.

It is evident then, from the above accounts, that the *want of encouragement* is at least one reason why the natives of Africa do not establish a trade in the productions of their own country, as enumerated in the last chapter. Now this want of encouragement we trace from Wadstrom finally to proceed from the *trade in slaves*, for such

constant encouragement he observes is given by the merchants to the slave trade, and the minds of the natives are in consequence so wholly occupied in it, that little or no encouragement remains for the other.

Sir George Young, and Lieutenant Storey, both come to the same conclusion ; and Lieutenant Simpson avers, that on repeatedly asking the black traders what they would do if the slave trade were abolished, he was repeatedly answered that they would soon find out another trade.

Mr. Wadstrom also mentions the slave trade as an impediment to a trade in the natural productions of the country, not only because it diminishes the encouragement of the latter, as just explained, but because it subjects the natives, who might be willing to follow it, to be made slaves, for, as he observes, they never dare go out into the fields unless well armed.

Mr. Wadstrom is supported in this second circumstance as a cause by Captain Wilson, who, in giving a reason why the slave trade obstructs the civilization and commerce of the natives, says, they will not for a temporary gratification risque the being kidnapped, and carried into perpetual slavery.

That the slave trade then, either by diminishing the proper encouragement to the natives, or endangering their persons, or by doing both, is the real cause why they do not or cannot exert their industry in cultivating the various articles, which their country has been proved to produce, can be ascertained from facts ; for Mr. Dalrymple has remarked, that in those parts of the coast where there is little or no trade for slaves, they are actually more industrious than in those places where the trade is carried on.

Captain Hall says also, that he found cultivation in *by far the highest state* at the island of Fernandipo, so that the yams, which were the principal produce there, were made to run up like vines upon sticks. But here he observes, first, that the natives had great encouragement, for all the ships from Calabar, Del Rey, and the Cameroons, sent their boats there for these articles, as to the

regular market, and, secondly, that they *had no trade in slaves.*

Mr. Falconbridge also has occasion to observe, that at Bonny, the most considerable place for slaves, there was a time in the late war when the slave trade was so interrupted, as to cease to be carried on; and that on his asking the black traders what they had done during this interval, they answered they had been obliged to cultivate the earth for their support.

Mr. How adds, that he has been almost upon every settlement that belongs to the English on the coast of Africa, and that he found the culture always in a higher degree, where there was but little of the slave trade, and just the reverse where the slave trade was carried on more at large.

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## C H A P. VIII.

*Whether the Slave Trade be not a Grave for the Seamen employed in it—and whether a Trade in the Natural Productions of Africa would be the same.*

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THE statements, made by the different evidences, of the loss of seamen while on board their respective ships, unquestionably prove the slave-trade to be the grave of our marine: but as an account has been since made for the House of Commons expressly upon this point, taking all the slave-ships promiscuously from the ports of Liverpool and Bristol for a number of years back, and made up from the muster-rolls of each ship, it will be more proper to quote from so general and extensive

extensive an account, than from the testimony of a few, even the best informed, individuals.

**ABSTRACT** of such of the Muster-rolls of Liverpool and Bristol Slave Ships as were returned into the Custom-Houses there, from September, 1784, to January 5th, 1790.

P E R I O D S.	No. of Vessels.	Original Crews	Died of original Crews	Brought Home of Original Crews
From 1784 to 1785, —	74	2915	615	1279
From 1785 to 1786, —	62	2163	436	944
From 1786 to 1787, —	66	136	433	1073
From 1787 to 1788, —	68	2422	623	1114
From 1788 to Jan. 5, 1790,	80	2627	536	1350
Total	350	12,263	2643	5760

It appears first then, that if we look at the seamen while employed on board their respective ships, and judge of them from the above accounts, we shall see the destructive nature of the slave trade, for it appears that in 350 vessels 12,263 seamen were employed, out of whom 2643 were lost, that is to say, that *more than a fifth* of the *whole number employed*, or more than *seven in every single voyage*, perished.

If again we look at such of them as are discharged or desert in the West Indies, where the muster-rolls cease to take an account of them, (for so systematical does the management of the trade appear by the second and fourth columns, that *nearly one-half of those who go out with the ships*

ships are constantly \* left behind) and judge of them by what the different evidences have to say of them there, we shall see great reason to apprehend another very severe loss besides that already stated to happen among them while on board their respective ships.

To shew this in the most unquestionable manner, we may begin with Captain Hall, (of the merchants service.) The crews of the African ships, says he, when they arrive in the West Indies, are generally, (*he does not know a single instance to the contrary*) in a sickly debilitated state, and the seamen, who are discharged or desert from those ships in the West Indies, are the *most miserable objects* he ever met with in any country in his life. He has frequently seen them with *their toes rotted off*, *their legs swelled to the size of their thighs*, and in *an ulcerated state* all over. He has seen them on the different wharfs in the islands of Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, particularly at the two last islands. He has also seen them lying under the cranes and balconies of the houses near the water-side in Barbadoes and Jamaica *expiring*, and some *quite dead*. He met with an instance last July (1789) of a *dead seaman* lying on one of the wharfs in Bridge town, Barbadoes, who had been *landed out of an African ship*.

To confirm the assertion of Captain Hall, of the merchants service, that the crews of Guinea-men generally arrive at their destined ports of sale in *a sickly, debilitated state*, we may appeal to Captain Hall, of the navy, who asserts, that in taking men (while in the West Indies) out of merchant ships for the king's service, he has, in taking a part of the crew of a Guinea ship, whose number then consisted of seventy, been able to select but *thirty*, who could have been *thought capable of serving on board any ships of war*, and when those thirty were surveyed by order of the admiral, *he was reprimanded for bringing such men into the service*, who were more likely to breed *distempers* than to be of *any use*, and this at a time when

\* Some of these are again taken up by other Guinea-men, but very few. When a vessel has once sold her slaves, she requires but few seamen to bring her home.

seamen were so much wanted, that *almost any thing would have been taken*. He adds also that this was not a singular instance, but that it was generally the case; for he had many opportunities between the years 1769 and 1773 of seeing *the great distresses of crews of Guinea ships, when they arrived in the West Indies.*

We may appeal also to Captain Smith, of the navy, who asserts that though he may have boarded *near twenty* of these vessels in the West Indies, for the purpose of impressing men, he was never able to get more than *two men*. The principal reason was the *fear of infection*, having seen many of them in a *very disordered and ulcerated state*.

The assertion also of Captain Hall, of the merchants' service, relative to their situation after their arrival at their destined ports of sale, is confirmed by the rest of the evidences in the minutest manner; for the seamen belonging to the slave-vessels are there described, as *lying about the wharfs and cranes*, or wandering about the streets or islands \* *full of sores and ulcers*, by Jeffreys, Dalrymple, Ellison, Morley, Davison, Baillie, Towne, Bowman, H. Ross, Douglas, Simpson, Thompson, and Forster. The epithets also of *sickly, emaciated, abject, deplorable objects*, are applied to them. They are mentioned again to be *defitute* and *starving*, and *without the means of support*; no merchantmen taking them in, because they are *unable to work*, and men of war refusing them for fear of *infection*. Many of them are also described to be lying about in a *dying state*; and others have been actually found dead, and the bodies of others have been seen carrying by the negroes to be interred.

As a farther proof, and that an undeniable one, that the above description of persons is notorious in the islands, it appears by the evidence, that they are marked by a peculiar and *cant-name*, according to the sort of place which they usually haunt. When they are seen lying about the cranes and wharfs, they are termed *wharfingers*,

\* It is asserted by the evidences, that they never saw any other than Guinea seamen in that state in the West Indies.

when on the beach, and where there are no wharfs, *Beach-Horners*, and they are known by the appellation of *Scowbankers* at Dominique.

It may be remarked here, that this diseased and forlorn state of the seamen *is so inseparable from the slave trade*, that the different evidences have not only witnessed it at Jamaica, Antigua, and Barbadoes, (the places mentioned by Captain Hall) but wherever they have seen Guinea-men arrive, namely at St. Vincents, Grenada, Dominique, and in North America also.\*

Having now traced the bad effects of the slave trade as visible among the seamen, while employed in it, and among those also who leave it at the port of delivery, it may be proper to add, that they are perceptible among many of them, *even after their return to their native country*: for Mr. Falconbridge says, that he was a pupil in the Bristol infirmary for twelve months, and that the greatest part of the diseased seamen there, in that time, were seamen who had belonged to the slave vessels; and though these generally went out of the infirmary better than when they came in, yet their health appeared to be so far destroyed as never to be able to be perfectly restored.

As to the question, whether the trade in the natural productions of Africa would be equally destructive to the seamen employed in it as the trade in slaves, there cannot, in the nature of things, be that sort of positive evidence as in the former case. There are, however, three species of presumption, from whence some conclusion may be drawn.

The first is the following. Captain Thompson, when on the Coast of Africa, lay for several weeks near a vessel, which traded in *wood, ivory, and gum*, (*which is a case in point*) and he had the best accounts from his officers, of the *healthiness and good order* of this ship.

\* The reasons why such immense numbers are left behind in the West Indies, as are found in this deplorable state, are the following. The seamen leave their ships from ill-usage, says Ellison. It is usual for captains, says Clapperton and Young, to treat them ill, that they may desert and forfeit their wages. Three others state, they are left behind purposely by their Captains; and Mr. H. Ross adds, in these emphatical words: "that it was no uncommon thing for the captains to send on shore, a few hours before they sail, their lame, emaciated, and sick seamen, leaving them to perish."

This,

This, however, is the only vessel of the kind, which any of the evidences have seen.

A second species of presumption is to be entertained from the opinion of those, who have visited the Coast of Africa. The same Capt. Thompson says, that he does not think a trade in the natural productions of Africa would be so detrimental to the health of the seamen as the slave trade, for they would not be liable to so much unpleasant and hard work, or such exposure to dews and weather. Mr. Newton asserts also that such a trade might be carried on without much exposure to weather and ill treatment, the \* natural attendants of the slave trade : and Sir George Young is of opinion, that a trade in the natural productions of Africa would not be attended with more inconvenience to the health of the seamen employed in it than the present † West India trade.

The third species consists in certain vessels going to the same coast, viz. men of war, which do not experience the same degree of loss.

Captain Scott, of the Merlin, which carried 100 men, lost eight, of whom only four died of the disorders of the country.

Sir George Young, in the ship he commanded, which had 100 men, lost two, who were sick when they left England, and a boy by accident.

Capt. Thompson, of the Nautilus, out of 100 buried one, who died by his own neglect.

Captain Hills, of the Zephyr, out of 90 buried none..

And Captain Wilson, of the Race-Horse, out of 100, did not lose a man. Thus, out of 490 in the ships of war, only twelve were buried ‡.

\* It is evident, that Insurrections and contagious disorders from the slaves must be natural causes of mortality to seamen in slave ships, which could not exist in ships in the other trade.

† It was formerly urged by the enemies of the abolition, that the West India trade was as destructive to seamen as the Slave trade, but by an account made up for the House of Commons, from the Musters-Rolls of West Indianmen, it appears, that out of 462 vessels, carrying 7640 seamen, only 118 were lost, or about one in 65.

‡ It must be remarked, that when Captain Scott lost eight out of 100, it was in the year 1769, since which great improvements have been made for the health of the seamen; and the Editor knows, that the men of war, now going to Africa, seldom lose a man.

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## C H A P. IX.

*Whether the Seamen employed in the Slave-Trade be not barbarously used in general, and whether such barbarous usage be not peculiar to, or spring out of the very nature of, this Trade.*

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**T**HAT the seamen employed in the slave trade are worse fed, both in point of quantity and quality of provisions, than the seamen in other trades, is allowed by most of the evidences, and that they have little or no shelter night or day from the inclemency of the weather, during the whole of the Middle Passage, is acknowledged by them all.

With respect to their personal ill usage, the following extracts may suffice.

Mr. Morley asserts that the seamen in all the Guinea-men he sailed in, except one, were generally treated with great rigour, and many with cruelty. He recollects many instances: Matthews, the chief mate of the Venus, Captain Forbes, would knock a man down for any frivolous thing, with a cat, a piece of wood, or a cook's axe, with which he once cut a man down the shoulder, by throwing it at him in a passion. Captain Dixon likewise, in the Amelia, tied up the men, and gave them four or five dozen lashes at a time, and then, rubbing them with pickles, made use of certain vulgar expressions. Mr. Morley also himself, when he was Dixon's cabin-boy, for accidentally breaking a glass, was tied to the tiller

tiller by the hands, flogged with a cat, and kept hanging for some time.

Mr. Morley has seen the seamen lie and die upon deck. They are generally, he says, treated ill when sick. He has known men ask to have their wounds or ulcers dressed; and has heard the doctor, with oaths, tell them to take their own dung and dress them.

Mr. Ellison also, in describing the treatment in the Briton, says, there was a boy on board, whom Wilson, the chief mate, was always beating. One morning, in the passage out, he had not got the tea-kettle boiled in time for his breakfast, upon which, when it was brought, Wilson told him he would severely flog him after breakfast. The boy, far fear of this, went into the lee fore chains. When Wilson came from the cabin, and called for Paddy, (the name he went by, being an Irish boy) he would not come, but remained in the fore chains; on which Wilson going forward, and attempting to haul him in, the boy jumped overboard, and was drowned.

Another time, on the Middle Passage, the same Wilson ordered one James Allison, (a man he had been continually beating for trifles) to go into the women's room to scrape it. Allison said he was not able, for he was very unwell; upon which Wilson obliged him to go down. Observing, however, that the man did not work, he asked him the reason, and was answered as before, "that he was not able." Upon this, Wilson threw a handspike at him, which struck him on the breast, and he dropped down to appearance dead.—Allison recovered afterwards a little, but died the next day.

Mr. Ellison relates other instances of ill usage on board his own ship, and with respect to instances in others, he says, that *in all slave ships* they are most commonly beaten and knocked about for nothing. He recollects that on board the Phoenix, a Bristol ship, while lying on the coast, the boatswain and five of the crew made their escape in the yawl, but were taken up by the natives. When Captain Bishop heard it, he ordered them to be kept on shore at Forje, a small town at the mouth

mouth of Calabar River, chained by the necks, legs, and hands, and to have each a plantain a day only. The boatswain, whose name was Tom Jones, and an old shipmate of his, and a very good seaman, *died raving mad in his chains there.* The other five *died in their chains also.*

Mr. Towne, in speaking of the treatment on board the Peggy, Captain Davison, says, that their chests were brought upon deck, and staved and burnt, and themselves turned out from lying below; and if any murmurs were heard among them, they were inhumanly beaten with any thing that came in the way, or flogged, both legs put in irons, and chained abaft to the pumps, and there made to work points and gaskets, during the Captain's pleasure; and very often beat just as the Captain thought proper. He himself has often seen the Captain, as he has walked by, kick them repeatedly, and if they have said any thing that he might deem offensive, he has immediately called for a stick to beat them with; they, at the same time, having both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, and a chain, and when on the Coast of Guinea, if not released before their arrival there from their confinement, they were put into the boats, and made to row backwards and forwards, either with the Captain from ship to ship, or on any other duty, still both legs in irons, an iron collar about their necks, with a chain locked to the boat, and taken out when no other duty was required of them at night, and locked fast upon the open deck, exposed to the heavy rains and dews, without any thing to lie upon, or any thing to cover them. This was a practice on board the Peggy.

He says also, that similar treatment prevailed on board the Sally, another of the ships in which he sailed. One of the seamen had both legs in irons, and a collar about his neck, and was chained to the boat for three months, and very often most inhumanly beaten for complaining of his situation, both by the captain and other officers. At last he became so weak, that he could not sit upon the thwart or seat of the boat to row, or do anything else. They then put him out of the boat, and made

been pick-nalum on board the ship, with only three pounds of bread a week, and half a pound of salt beef per day. He remained in that situation, with both his legs in irons, but the latter part of the time without a collar. One evening he came aft, during the Middle Passage, to beg something to eat, or he should die. The Captain on this inhumanly beat him, and used a great number of reproaches, and ordered him to go forward, and die; and he did. The man died in the night. The ill-treatment on board the Sally was general.

As another particular instance, a landman, one Edw. Hilton, was in the boat watering, and complained of his being long in the boat without meat or drink. The boatswain, being the officer, beat him with the boat's tiller, having nothing else, and cut his head in several places, so that when he came on board, he was all over blood. Mr. Towne asked him the reason of it. Hilton began to tell him that before he could properly tell the story, the mate came forward, (by order of the captain) the flogger and the boatswain, and all of them together fell to beating him with their canes. The surgeon struck him on the side of his eye, so that it afterwards mortified, and was lost. He immediately had both his legs put in irons; after he had been so beat, that he could not stand. The next morning he was put into the boat above the foredeck as before, still remaining with both legs immovable and locked with a chain to the boat, until such time as he became so weak, that he was not able to remain any longer there. He was then put on board the ship, and laid forwards, still in irons, very ill. His allowance was immediately stopped, as it was the surgeon's opinion, it was the only method of curing any one of them who complained of illness. He remained in that situation, after being taken out of the boat, for some weeks after. During this time, Mr. Towne was obliged to go up the Jant River, and on his return he inquired for Hilton, and was told that he was lying before the fore-mast, almost dead. He went and spoke to him, but Hilton seemed insensible. The same day Mr. Towne obtained his orders to go a second time in the shallop to mind

Junk

Junk River. After he had gotten under way, the commander of the shallop was ordered to bring to; and take Hilton in, and leave him on shore ~~anywhere~~. He lived that evening and night out, and died early the next morning, and was thrown overboard off Cape Mezzurado.

Mr. Falconbridge, being called upon also to speak to the ill usage of seamen, says that on board the *Alexander*, Capt. M' Taggart, he has seen them tied up and flogged with the cat frequently. He remembers also an instance of an old man, who was boatswain of the *Alexander*, having one night some words with the mate, when the boatswain was severely beaten, and had one or two of his teeth knocked out. The boatswain said he would jump overboard; upon which he was tied to the rail of the quarter-deck, and a pump-bolt put into his mouth by way of gagging him. He was then stripped, put under the half-deck, and a sentinel put over him all night—in the morning he was released. Mr. Falconbridge always considered him as a quiet, inoffensive man. In the same voyage a black boy was beaten every day, and one day, after he was so beaten, he jumped through one of the gun-ports of the cabin into the river. A canoe was lying along-side, which dropped astern, and picked him up. Mr. Falconbridge gave him one of his own shires to put on, and asked him if he did not expect to be devoured by the sharks. The boy said he did, and that it would be much better for him to be killed at once, than to be daily treated with so much cruelty.

Mr. Falconbridge remembers also, on board the same ship, that the black cook one day broke a plate. For this he had a fish-gig darted at him, which would certainly have destroyed him if he had not stooped or dropped down. At another time also, the carpenter's mate had let his pitch-pot catch fire. He and the cook were accordingly both tied up, stripped, and flogged, but the cook with the greatest severity. After that the cook had salt water and cayenne pepper rubbed upon his back. A man also came on board at Bonny, belonging to a little ship, (Mr. Falconbridge believes the captain's name was

was Dodson, of Liverpool) which had been overset at New Calabar. This man, when he came on board, was in a convalescent state. He was severely beaten one night, but for what cause Mr. Falconbridge knows not; upon which he came and applied to Mr. Falconbridge for something to rub his back with. Mr. Falconbridge was told by the captain not to give him any thing, and the man was desired to go forward. He went accordingly, and lay under the forecastle. Mr. Falconbridge visited him very often, at which times he complained of his bruises. After this, he had a return of his flux, and died in about three weeks from the time he was beaten. The last words he ever spoke to Mr. Falconbridge were (after shedding tears) "*I cannot punish him,*" (meaning the captain) "*but God will.*" These are the most remarkable instances which Mr. Falconbridge recollects. He says, however, that the ill treatment was so general, that only three in this ship escaped being beaten out of fifty persons.

To these instances, which fell under the eyes of the evidences now cited, we may add the observations of a gentleman, who, though never in the slave-trade, had yet great opportunities of obtaining information upon this subject. Sir George Young remarks, that those seamen, whom he saw in the slave-trade, while on the coast in a man of war, complained of their ill treatment, bad feeding, and cruel usage. They *all* of them wanted to enter on board his ship. It was likewise the custom for the seamen of every ship he saw at a distance, to come on board him with their boats; most of them *quite naked*, and threatening to *turn pirates*, if he did not take them. This they told him openly. He is persuaded, if he had given them encouragement, and had had a ship of the line to have manned, he could have done it in a very short time, for they *would all have left their ships*. He has also received several seamen on board his ship from the woods, where they had no subsistence, but to which they had fled for refuge from their respective vessels.

That

That the above are not the only instances of barbarity contained in the evidence, and that this barbarous usage is peculiar to, or springing out of the very nature of the trade in slaves, may be insisted on from the following accounts:

Captain Hall, (of the merchants service) believes the slaves are in general treated with great barbarity in the slave-ships, and he does not know of their being ill-treated in any other service.

Captain Thompson concludes, from the many complaints he received from seamen, while on the coast, that they are far from being well treated on board the slave-ships. One Bowden swam from the Fisher, of Liverpool, Captain Kendal, to the Nautilus, amidst a number of sharks, to claim his protection. Kendal wrote for the man, who refused to return, saying his life would be endangered. He therefore kept him in the Nautilus till she was paid off, and found him a diligent, willing, active seaman. Several of the crew, he thinks, of the Brothers, of Liverpool, Captain Clark, swam towards the Nautilus, when passing by. Two only reached her. The rest, he believes, regained their own ship. The majority of the crew had the day before come on board the Nautilus in a boat to complain of ill usage, but he had returned them with an officer to inquire into and redress their complaints. He received many letters from seamen in slave-ships, complaining of ill usage, and desiring him to protect them, or take them on board. He is inclined to think, that ships trading in the produce of Africa are not so ill-used as those in the slave-ships. Several of his own officers gave him the best accounts of the treatment the Iris, a vessel trading for wood, gums, and ivory, near which the Nautilus lay for some weeks.

Lieutenant Simpson says, that on his first voyage, when at Fort Appolonia, the Fly Guineaman was in the roads. On the return of the Adventure's boat from the, they were hailed by some seamen belonging to the, requesting that they might be taken from on board Guineaman, and put on board the man of war, for their treatment was such as to make their lives miserable.

miserable. The boat, by the direction of Capt. Party, was sent to the Fly, and one or two men were brought on board him. In his second voyage, he recollects, that on first seeing the Albion Guineaman, she carried a press of sail, seemingly to avoid them, but finding it impracticable, she spoke them ; the day after which the Captain of the Albion brought a seaman on board the Adventure, whom he wished to be left there, complaining that he was a very riotous and disorderly man. The man, on the contrary, proved very peaceable and well-behaved, nor was there one single instance of his conduct, from which he could suppose he merited the character given him. He seemed to rejoice at quitting the Albion, and informed Mr. Simpson, that he was cruelly beaten both by the captain and surgeon ; that he was half starved ; and that the surgeon neglected the sick seamen, alleging that he was only paid for attending the slaves. He also informed Mr. Simpson, that their allowance of provisions was increased, and their treatment somewhat better when a man of war was on the coast. He recollects another instance of a seaman, with a leg shockingly ulcerated, requesting a passage in the Adventure to England ; alleging that he was left behind from a Guineaman. He alleged various instances of ill treatment he had received, and confirmed the sailor of the Albion's account, that their allowance of provisions was increased, and treatment better, when a man of war was on the coast. During Mr. Simpson's stay at C. Coast Castle, the Adventure's boat was sent to Annamaboe to the Spy Guineaman ; on her return, three men were concealed under her sails, who had left the slave-ship—they complained their treatment was so bad, that their lives were miserable on board—beaten and half starved.—There were various other instances which escape his memory. Mr. Simpson says, however, that he has never heard any complaints from West Indiamen, or other merchant ships ;—on the contrary, they wished to avoid a man of war ; whereas, if the captain of the Adventure had listened to all the complaints made to him from sailors of slave-ships, and removed

removed them, he must have greatly distressed the African trade.

Captain Hall, of the navy, speaking on the same subject, asserts, that as to peculiar modes of punishment adopted in Guineamen, he once saw a man chained by the neck in the main top of a slave-ship, when passing under the stern of his Majesty's ship Crescent, in King-ton-Bay, St. Vincent's; and was told by part of the crew, taken out of the ship, at their own request, that the man had been there one hundred and twenty days. He says he has great reason to believe, that in no trade are men so badly treated as in the slave-trade, from their always staying to men of war for redress, and whenever they come within reach; whereas men from West Indian other trades seldom apply to a ship of war.\*

The last evidence, whom perhaps it will appear necessary to cite on this occasion, is the Rev. Mr. Newton. His gentleman agrees in the ill usage of the seamenuded to, and believes that the slave-trade itself is a *real cause* of it, for he thinks that the real or supposed necessity of treating the negroes with rigour, gradually engs a numbness upon the heart, and renders most of those who are engaged in it too indifferent to the sufferings of their own-creatures; and he supposes there is no trade in which seamen are treated with so little humanity as in

The circumstance of seamen in the Slave-trade being desirous of leaving their ships, and of those in other trades staying by them, when sent to men of war, is confirmed also by Captains Smith and Wilson, of the navy.

It will be proper to mention here, that several specifick facts of the treatment of seamen in the Slave-trade have been omitted in these hints, as well as that this ill usage is confirmed by more of the writers, viz. Trotter, Dove, Parker, Storey, and Forster; on the other hand, about seven captains may be traced, three of whose names only are mentioned, (viz. Butler, Smith, and Frazer) who have had the merit of ing against the current of bad example in the abuse of seamen in this

If it should be asked how it happens that seamen enter for slaves, when such general ill usage there can hardly fail of being known, the only must be taken from the evidence, "that whereas some of them voluntarily, the greater part of them are trepanned, for that it is the interest of certain landlords to make them intoxicated, and get them into debt, after which their only alternative is a Guineaman or a gaol."

*the African slave-trade.* He has himself seen the sailors, when sick, beaten for being *lazy*, till they have died under the blows.

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## C H A P. X.

*Whether it be true, as some say, that the Natives of Africa are happier in the European Colonies than in their own Country.*

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If there be any of the slaves happier in the colonies than they were at home, they must be such as were formerly slaves in their own country; and if so, the African must be shewn to be more oppressive than the colonial slavery.

This, however, is so far from being the case, that, as Mr. H. Ross observes, though on another occasion, any comparison between the state of the two is an \* insult to common sense. The slaves in Africa are mentioned by Mr. Towne as *never ill used* by their own people. They are treated, says Mr. Keirnan, as Europeans treat people of their own family. They are described again by Hall and Dalrymple as *eating and drinking with their masters*. Captain Wilson says also, they, *live with their masters*, and are *not distinguishable from them*. Mr. Falconbridge never saw any whom by their

\* Some have even gone so far as to say that they are happier than the labouring poor of this country: but it has been most amply refuted by Woolrich, Captain Wilson, Jeffreys, Rees, Dean, of Middleham, and Mr. Ross, the latter of whom, though he compared the different circumstances in their respective situations at the request of the Committee, professed it by saying, that any comparison between the state of the two was an *insult to common sense*.

treatment he could say were slaves. Mr. Wadstrom speaks of them as well used, and Mr. Morley as treated with kindness, and better than in the West Indies.

Now, if the lives of the slaves in Africa should be so much happier (as may be seen by comparing the above accounts with those in Chap. IV.) than the lives of the slaves in the European colonies, it will not be doubted that freemen in the former parts of the world must be happier than slaves in the latter.

Though the observations already made might be sufficient (both with respect to such as having been originally freemen, and such as having been originally \* slaves in their own country, are sent to the European colonies) to disprove the assertion insinuated in the title to his chapter, yet as there are other very strong proofs in the evidence, it would be unpardonable not to cite them in the present case.

Mr. M. Cook has often heard Africans in the West Indies express their praise of their own country and their regret at leaving it. Lieutenant Davison observes it is common for sick Africans to say, *with pleasure*, they are *going to die, and are going home from this Buccra (or bite man's) country.* It is also notorious that the Africans, when brought into the colonies, frequently destroy themselves. Dr. Harrison, Coor, M. Terry, Cook, Maurice, Clapperton, Baillie, Dalrymple, Davison, an of Middleham, Captain Ross, and Woolrich, all agree in this fact. The causes of it are described in general to be *ill treatment, the desire of returning home, and preference of death to life when in the situation of slavery, all of which are so many proofs of their superiority in their own country.* It is also very remarkable

as we find from Mr. Coor, that these acts of desperation should have been so frequent as to have occasioned it to have passed into an observation, "that the Coast negroes, when driven to despair, always cut

very few slaves in the West Indies are such as have been slaves in *for says Dalrymple and Wadstrom, there are very few slaves in slavery at all, and those who have them, says Morley, do not like to sell*

*their*

their throats, and those of the most inland country ~~mostly~~  
hang themselves.

To give a few extracts from the evidences on this occasion. A negro boy of his, says Dr. Harrison, detested slavery so much that he refused all support, which brought on a dropsey that killed him. Another negro, who had been a great man in his own country, refused to work for any white man, and being therefore punished by the overseer, he desired him to tell his master that he *would be a slave to no man*. His master ordered him to be removed to another estate. His hands were tied behind him, and in going over a bridge he jumped into the water and appeared no more. These are two facts of Dr. Harrison's own knowledge, out of a great many which he cannot now recollect.

Mr. Fitzmaurice too has known many suicides, among new negroes especially, both by hanging themselves and dirt-eating, which they knew to be fatal. He lost one year twelve new negroes by it; though he fed them well. On his remonstrating, they constantly told him they *preferred dying to living*. A great proportion of the new negroes that go on sugar estates, die in this way.

A planter, says Mr. Woolrich, purchased six slaves out of a Guinea ship, and put them on a small island to plant cotton. They had a white man with them as overseer, who left them on a Saturday night. There were no white inhabitants on the island. On the Monday following the overseer returned, when he found all the six hanging near together in the woods. Mr. Woolrich often inquired of the most sensible negroes what could be the cause of such actions, and the answer was, "that they would rather die than live in the situation they were in."

As the last proof in the evidence, and that an irrefragable one, how much happier the Africans are in their own country than in the colonies, may be adduced the *great joy* which is discovered at their funerals by their fellow-slaves, and which joy is said to proceed from the idea that the deceased *are returning home*.

Mr. Douglas

Mr. Douglas saw three funerals of Guinea slaves in the West Indies. At these funerals, says he, they sing, and are merry, and, naming the deceased, say, *he is gone to Guinea.*

Great rejoicings, says Cook, are made by African negroes at the funerals of each other, from a belief that the deceased *are gone to their own country again.*

African negroes, says Forster, shewed the most extravagant joy at their friends funerals, from believing the deceased *gone back to their country.*

Captain Wilson confirms the above by stating, that he never saw any signs of happiness among the imported slaves, except at their funerals, when they shew extravagant joy, from a persuasion that the deceased is escaped from slavery to his own country. Captain Wilson, however, does not stop here, for he goes on to declare, that in Africa their funerals are attended with the most mournful cries.

It is impossible to conclude this chapter better than by extract from the evidence of Mr. Dalrymple.— That gentleman says, he might have had the means of putting his estate in Grenada under cultivation, as he might have had slaves from the house of Backhouse and Wilton; but having had an opportunity, when on the coast of Africa, of knowing how happy the negroes are in their own country, and knowing the unmerciful means by which they were made slaves there, the cruel usage when on board ship, and their severe punishment when in the West Indies, he could not consistent with his ideas of what was right, purchase any slaves, particularly as he did not intend to remain on the station himself.

## C H A P. XI.

*Whether the Africans by good usage have not in several instances increased by births in the Colonies; and whether it be not clear from other facts as well as the opinions of persons in the Evidence, that they would increase by Population, generally, in consequence of general good Usage, so as to supersede entirely the necessity of the Slave Trade.*

CAPTAIN ROSS says, he knows of three estates in the island of Jamaica, one belonging to Lord Dudley, another to Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and a third to Mr. Malcolm, on which there was a considerable increase of the slaves by birth.

Lieutenant Davison confirms the account given of Mr. Malcolm's estate : that gentleman, he says, had not bought a negro for ten or twelve years, during which time the slaves had considerably increased. Lieutenant Davison also knew an estate, where the negroes were all Creoles.

Mr. M. Cook knew two estates in the same island, on which he really believes the negroes to have increased by births.

Mr. Coor says, there was a plantation in Jamaica belonging to a Mr. Dunn, which, when he (Mr. Coor) first went there, was a small one, not for want of land but of negroes. This estate at that time made about fifty hogsheads of sugar yearly. In consequence, however, of good usage, the negroes increased so fast (the children seeming

seeming to swarm on this estate) that, before Mr. Coer quitted the island, Mr. Dunn had not only doubled the produce, but had settled *another estate out of it*, which made sixty hogsheads per year, and he had never bought *but six new negroes in the whole time.*

In the same island, and parish of Clarendon, the negroes on Ramsbury estate increased so fast, says Mr. Fitzmaurice, that a gang of them was drawn off to settle a new estate, called Yarmouth, which he had then the care of, but the settlement was discontinued from the change of the attorney. On Orange, in St. James's, no negroes were bought for at least fifteen years, and they increased; as also on Eden in the same parish. He lived on both these estates.

Mr. Forster, speaking of the island of Antigua, says, that on the whole of Colonel Farley's plantations they had no need of new negroes. He has heard the Colonel say there was a considerable increase, but on one particularly. Mr. Thomas Gravenor's negroes also increased. He knew Captain Thomafon, of Seacow Bay, Tortola, who wanted no new negroes for many years.

Mr. Duncan observes, that the treatment on the estate that he lived on, which was in the island of Antigua, was better than common: the effect was that the slaves increased. The slaves also on Sir G. Thomas's Belfast estate, and Carlisle's, and several others he cannot now name, increased, or kept up their numbers without any addition by purchase.

Mr. Giles says, that on two estates where he lived, the ~~reake~~ of the slaves, under a milder treatment in the island of St. Croix, exceeded their decrease by one per cent.

Capt. Hall, of the navy, mentions an estate, belonging to Marquis de Rouvray, in the Island of St. Domingo, where in consequence of good usage the slaves increased so as to have rendered any farther purchases unnecessary.

Mr. Bishop told Mr. Towne, that in a plantation of his in Barbadoes, they had not bought a Guinea negro

for upwards of forty years, and that by good usage there were a great many more now there than formerly.

The Reverend Mr. Davies says, that on Kendal plantation, in the island of Barbadoes, belonging to Mr. Steel, the stock of slaves was kept up by births. He knew also a few other estates which kept up their numbers without importation.

The Dean of Middleham, while in Barbadoes, understood from Dr. Mapp's son, that the stock on the estate, to which he had just succeeded, had increased so much by births, that there was a redundancy sufficient nearly to stock another estate. The Rev. Mr. Carter's slaves also increased considerably, and these cultivated his glebe and planted canes. The Dean's brother also informed him, that his own negroes had doubled their number by natural increase in twenty years, and they were employed, he believes, in common field business as other negroes. The Dean had heard of several others of his acquaintance, who had kept up their stocks by the natural increase, without purchase.

Having now mentioned those estates, on which it appears that the slaves have increased by birth, it will be proper to mention those other facts in the evidence, by which it will be clear, that the Africans, by general good usage, will increase so generally as to supersede the necessity of the slave-trade.

1. In the Island of Barbadoes the field slaves appear to be better treated than elsewhere. Accordingly we find from Mr Woodward, that while resident there, in the years 1782 and 1783, he never heard any complaint of the want of negroes to carry on the plantation or other business. And yet he does not recollect the sale of a single cargo of slaves during that time.

2. Field slaves cultivating cotton, pimento, and coffee, are described by Mr. Cook as being treated better, and as increasing faster by birth than those employed on sugar estates.

3. Domestics are universally said to be treated better on the whole than field slaves, and these are generally said to increase. There are many more children, says Jeffreys, among

among domestics than field slaves. Captain Hall says, that in his time the domestics were understood to increase by birth, and Lieutenant Davison, that they did actually increase. Mr. Forster gives an instance of rapid increase among the domestics. A widow Shervington was left in debt with five or six negroes, who by kind treatment in fifteen or twenty years increased to fifteen or more. He knows several instances of the kind.

4. The Maroon negroes, originally Africans, who live in small communities in Jamaica, as free people, and who of course are not subject to ill usage like the slaves, are said to increase also. M. Cook believes the Maroon negroes to be increasing very fast. Lieutenant Davison asserts, that in his time they increased most certainly. He has often been in all their towns, and always saw great numbers of children. Their numbers were considerably more when he left, than when he came to the island. It was impossible for them to have received any addition of number from other quarters.

5. African negroes also; when transported to the East Indies, have, by good usage, increased there. Mr. Botham says, that in the year 1764, the East India Company sent five ships to Africa and Madagascar, and transported to Bencoolen, for their public and other works, nearly a thousand slaves, and in much the same proportion of men, women, and children, as they are carried from Africa to the West Indies, that is, more men than women and children. These slaves, on the first years of their arrival, from the healthiness of the climate, and other causes, decreased; but when they had been at Bencoolen a few years, where they were humanely treated, they began annually to increase; notwithstanding from the little attention that was paid to their way of life, both men and women lived in the most abandoned way. The wonder was, that they did increase, as the young women slaves were common prostitutes to soldiers and sailors.

African negroes also, transported to different parts of North America, have, in consequence of being \* better increased by population there.

The evidences unanimously maintain, that their usage is better in America than in the West Indies.

Dr. Harrison's distinction between the difference of the treatment of the negroes by the West Indians and Americans, is as follows. In Jamaica, he says, slaves were generally treated ill, and only individuals treated them well; in Carolina, on the other hand, they were generally treated well, and only individuals used them ill.—Let us now see the consequences.

Mr. Dove says, that from 1774 to 1783 there were no importations of slaves to Boston or New York, and yet he thinks that they did not decrease in their number during that time.

It was generally believed, says Mr. Stuart, that the Carolina slaves increased without importation.

Mr. Savage says also, that where they were well used in Carolina they increased greatly. A friend of his, Gabriel Manigault, Esq. informed him, that in 1737, he had on his estate eighty-six negroes, of which twelve or fourteen were superannuated. The latter he replaced by others. With no more addition than this, they had increased to two hundred and seventy about a year or two (1773) before he left the country.

Mr. Baillie also, speaking of Carolina, believes the negroes are raised there in as great a proportion as children in Europe, when they are in healthy situations; notwithstanding which he observes, that the cultivation of rice is as laborious as that of sugar, and that the climate of Jamaica is much more favourable to the constitution of the negroes than that of Carolina.

Dr. Harrison also gives his opinion as a medical man, that the climate of Jamaica is more favourable to the increase of slaves than that of Carolina; notwithstanding which disadvantage Carolina increased in slaves, while those in Jamaica decreased.

Mr. Irving mentions the increased population of slaves by birth in Carolina to have been reckoned in his time at from two to ten per cent. and yet he speaks of the climate in the same manner as the rest. The breeding of slaves, he says, was considered so advantageous, that the planter generally valued a child, on the day of its birth, at five pounds.

Mr. Clapham, examined on this subject, for Maryland, says, the negroes kept up their numbers there by propagation, and increased, so that the overplus, in some instances, were shipped to the West Indies. He has known an hundred sales, where proprietors have had *too many* for their use, in consequence of increase by propagation, yet they were not thought to be \* well treated, though better than to the southward, and the climate was subject to great and sudden variety of heat and cold.

Mr. Beverley, examined respecting Virginia, states, that the negroes there always kept up their numbers, and generally increased. His father's more than doubled their numbers. In 1761 he had about two hundred, and in 1788 he paid taxes on above five hundred and forty, of whom not above twenty or thirty had been added by purchase.

Mr. Beverley was told in America, that when the abolition of the slave-trade was first agitated in 1774, many doubted the practicability of keeping up the numbers by births; and the persons of doubting have, since the abolition of the slave trade, expressed to him a conviction that their fears were groundless.

Mr. Crew states also, that the negroes in Virginia increased rapidly without importation, so much so, that was a general opinion that it was profitable to hold slaves this account, exclusive of the profits of their labour. He thinks, at the same time, that the culture of tobacco nearly as laborious as that of sugar, and that the climate of Virginia is not so favourable as that of the West Indies African constitutions, on account of the severe & cold in winter. Mr. Crew observes, that the importation of African slaves into Virginia has been generally discontinued since 1772.

From the above accounts, (by which the natives of Africa have been viewed in different climates and situa-

The evidence warrants us in saying, that a slave in America, said to be well used, would be considered as well used in the West Indies. As a farther proof, that the climate of North America is not congenial to the African constitution, it appears from Baillie and Beverley that negroes are always healthier in the summer than in the winter.

tions) but, particularly from the last, it is evident that if they were in general well used in the European colonies, they would so generally increase, as to supersede the necessity of the slave trade: for if in the American climate, totally uncongenial to their constitutions, they have generally increased by births, much more would they in the West Indian, which is represented as much more favourable to their propagation. This will be still more evident, if we prove that they are prolific in their own country, and that the West Indian climate is the same as their own at home. Mr. Falconbridge says, that the females are *more prolific* than those of other countries. Out of four or five deliveries, at which he was present, there were twice twins. Captain Hall has seen *as many children* in the towns and villages in Africa in proportion to the grown people, as he has met with in this country. Sir G. Young declares, that the negro women on the coast of Africa appeared to him as *prolific as any race of people* he ever saw in any part of the world, and the climate of the *West Indies* to be *not less favourable to them than their own*. Hence he says, the stock of slaves might be kept up or increased *without any importations from Africa*. At first the deficiencies might be felt for a few, *perhaps twenty years*, but after a while, they would *double their numbers*; for he sees no physical cause to prevent a black man and woman being *equally prolific in the West Indies as in Africa*.

There are others, who from their experience in the West Indies are of a similar opinion. Dr. Jackson cannot conceive, if slaves were well used, why they should not keep up their numbers. They are *naturally prolific, and the islands in general congenial to their constitutions*. — It is the opinion of Mr. Coor, that, with kind and judicious treatment of the infants, the slaves in Jamaica would increase *without any importations from Africa*. Mr. Davies says the *same thing* for Barbadoes. Mr. Woodward is not apprehensive that the abolition of the slave-trade would ruin his *West Indian property*. He thinks it would be *of advantage to Barbadoes*. By using them well,

well, and by good management, the stock of slaves would naturally increase without importation. And Mr. Giles believes, that, if they were properly treated, their increase would be general throughout the islands.

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## C H A P. XII.

*What appear to have been the principal causes, implied in the term Good Usage, of the Increase by Births, in the instances mentioned, and what Regulations ought to take place in the general practice of the Colonies, to insure an universal Increase.*

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THE causes of the increase by births, on one of the estates mentioned, viz. on the Marquis de Rouvray's of St. Domingo, are described by Captain Hall as follows :

The slaves were never hard pressed in their work. The Marquis suffered no improper intercourse between the males and females: every man had his own wife, and no white was suffered to disjoin that union. Hospitals were built for the sick and pregnant. The latter, when far advanced, were taken in there, and employed in trifling work, till the time of their delivery. Here they might remain, separated from their husbands, and excused from field labour, till the child could be supported without the mother's help, or when their strength would permit, return with the child to their husbands, and take the chance of work. In consequence, the Marquis had not, for some years, occasion to buy negroes. Having, however, left his estate to the care of a nephew, upon his return, after an absence of two years, instead of the hap-

happines that reigned when he left it, he found nothing but misery and discontent. The whites had seized upon the pretty women: their husbands, through discontent, ran away, and the labour falling heavier upon the rest, they became discontented, and their work was badly carried on: so that it cost him two years, before he could re-establish order. It was a pleasure to walk through his estate; for the slaves used to look upon him as a father.

It is of importance to cite this estate, because, in consequence of the above regulations, its gang increased; because, when they were violated, it went back; and because, when they were re-established, it was restored to its former state. These regulations also include all the regulations, except two, in consequence of which the slaves increased by births on the other estates mentioned in the preceding chapter, and therefore the citation of these, in particular, avoids a repetition, and saves time. The two regulations not included in these, are the following:—Mr. Giles asserts, that the purchasing of a few mules, on an estate which he managed, to carry the canes which the negroes had before this been accustomed to carry on their heads, so lightened their labour, as to occasion them to increase in population, whereas they had decreased before: and, on the estate cited by Lieut. Davison, the circumstance of Mr. Malcolm's going among his own negroes, hearing their complaints, and not suffering them to be punished without his knowledge, are reckoned among the causes that contributed to their increase.

Let us now see what is the general practice in the colonies, and what alterations should be made in it, to insure an universal increase.

i. It is the opinion of Mr. Fitzmaurice, as observed in chap. 4, that the forcing the slaves to labour beyond their strength, is the means of bringing many of them to the grave. Mr. Baillie says, that many of their complaints arose from extreme fatigue, and that a little rest generally restored them, without any medicine being necessary. In general, says Forster, the planters have no idea of improvements to ease their slaves. It seemed a general

a general opinion, that if negroes were not constantly kept at work, they would become unruly.

2. We have seen, in chap. 4, the very trifling faults, for which slaves are frequently punished, at the discretion of the overseer, and the unlimited severity of those punishments by the chain, dungeon, stocks, projecting iron collar, iron boot, cow-skin, cart-whip, picket, and the like; all of which have a manifest tendency to harass human nature, and in conjunction with other causes, to subdue it.

3. It appears that no attention is paid to the marriage of the slaves, so that one man should be restricted to one wife, but that there is a promiscuous intercourse amongst one another as they please, (General Tottenham, Capt. Smith, Sir G. Young, Forster, Coor); and that this is not only the case of the negroes one with another, but with the negro women and the whites, the latter of whom violate the chastity of the former at discretion, (Dean of Middleham, Captain Smith, Davison, Cook, Harrison, Coor, and Dalrymple). If the women are sent for by the overseers, says Cook, for these purposes, they *must come or be flogged*, and to such a pitch has Dalrymple known this intercourse to proceed, that female slaves are offered by their masters, even to those who visit them, and he has known *compulsion* used to oblige such to submit to prostitution.

4. It appears again, from chap. 4, that pregnant women, to get the most out of them, are frequently worked within a very little time of their delivery, and so hard and so near to this period, that they often miscarry; as well as that, even in this situation, they are not exempt from the whip.

5. The sides of the huts, says Coor, in which the pregnant women are delivered, and children born, are no more defence against the cold night damps, than one of our pasture hedges. Bedding they have none, but a board or bass mat. The infant, for the first eight days, is never put to the mother's breast, but given to a woman out of the field, who nurses it, and who probably has a child two, three, or four months old: and here

Mr. Coor submits it to medical men what effect the milk of a woman hardly wrought and badly fed would have on a tender infant. They mostly die convulsed about the eighth day. This want of care is the more lamentable, because, if they survive the eighth day, they mostly do well. What convinces him farther it is for want of care, is, because, where *they have warm houses, kind treatment, and the child is set to the mother's breast*, he very seldom knew any die.

Most of the negro-houses, says Fitzmaurice, are open to the weather, being wattled without plaster. They sleep on a board on the ground, near the fire, and after it goes out, they suffer from cold and damp. This causes many disorders, especially to *lying-in women*, who lose more children by this than any other cause, as they generally die of the locked jaw.

6. The Dean of Middleham says, it struck him, to speak generally, that negro mothers commonly went into the field too early after their delivery, taking their children with them; that the milk of the mother became feverish with labour, and the heat of the sun was too powerful for the child, which was commonly exposed in a basket, and, in rainy weather, unsheltered. The same is confirmed by others.

It is evident then, if the above be the general practice in the colonies; if the slaves are over-wrought and hastily and severely punished; if promiscuous intercourse be allowed: if the women are oppressed during their pregnancy; if, while lying-in, they and their infants are so much exposed to damp and cold in their houses, that many of the latter perish: and if, after delivery, they are too soon hurried, with their surviving infants, into the field, it is evident, we repeat, that they cannot possibly, in general, increase: but that some change must be made in the system, and that the following regulations are the most likely to answer the end, inasmuch as, upon the adopting of them or similar ones, the slaves on the estates cited have experienced an increase.

Regulation 1. The maxim observed on the estate of the Marquis de Rouvray, and some of the others cited, " of never pressing the slaves hard in their work," and " the substitution of animal for human labour, wherever it is practicable," as mentioned by Mr. Giles, should be adopted on every estate.

2. A more general residence of proprietors on their own estates, as on Mr. Malcolm's, to attend to the complaints and punishments of their slaves, is necessary.

3. Marriage, or the union of one man to one woman, should take place, as in the Marquis de Rouvray's plantation; and this union no white or other person should be suffered to disturb or disjoin.

4. The women slaves, when advanced in their pregnancy four months, should be taken from the field, and should have little and light work, as practised on some of the estates cited to have increased by births.

5. During the time of their lying-in, they should be put into convenient hospitals, or, if allowed to remain in their huts, these should be so constructed as to exclude the cold and damp, and every female should suckle her own child from the birth.

6. In such hospitals or huts, they should remain, as on the Marquis de Rouvray's estate, and be excused from field-labour, till the child could be supported without the mother's aid, or, when their strength would permit, return with the child to their husbands, and take the chance of work.

Now, if it could be made appear, as it can, that the slaves in some of the estates cited, increased by the adoption of some *one* of the above regulations alone, and that they increased on others by adopting two or three of them, and no more, and that on no one estate, as appears by the evidence, were all of them in force at a time, it is plain, that if all of them combined were put into execution on each and every estate in the colonies, there must be an universal increase of the slaves there.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Whether other Regulations may not be deduced from the Evidence, which would accelerate this Increase by Population.*

WE have found, that lightening the labour of the slaves, attending to their grievances, punishments, and the like, have been the means of contributing to their increase by population; hence any new modes suggested by the evidence, that will produce the same effects, or will tend to their better nourishment or establishment in society must accelerate that increase.

1. Let the plough be introduced on every estate which will admit the use of it.

The introduction of the plough would, in the opinion of Forster, Sir G. Young, Rees, Harrison, Giles, and Duncan, save the slaves much labour. Mr. Fitzmaurice has known it answer this end. Mr. Woodward and Mr. J. Woodward farther confirm the same: the former has reduced its utility on his own estate to the following rule: *one plough, two men, and four horses, do as much work as thirty negroes*, and, after the plough, it does not require, says he, much negro labour to prepare the ground for the cane. He thinks that the largest part of the cane and ginger land in Barbadoes, may be ploughed to the advantage of the proprietor, and the *saving of negroes labour*.

2. In the earthing of canes, let the East Indian shovel be introduced, in the place of the hoe, where it is practicable.

When the cane is ready to earth up, says Mr. Botham, the space between the rows is ploughed deep, the cane.

tops

tops tied up, and an instrument like a broad shovel, with teeth at the bottom, a spade handle, and two cords fixed to the body of the shovel, ending by a wooden handle for a purchase, is used by two persons to earth up the cane, the strongest holding the handle of the shovel, and pressing it into the ploughed earth, while the other on the opposite side of the plant, by a jerk of the cord, draws up to the plant all the earth that the plough had loosened. *Two persons*, says Mr. Botham, and he has been in the West as well as in the East Indies, with this instrument, will earth up more canes in a day than *ten negroes* with their *hoes* according to the W. Indian method.

3. Let the commissions or premiums paid in some islands on the crops, be taken from the attorneys and overseers of estates, and let salaries or an augmentation of salary be substituted in their stead; or, let the premiums and commissions continue, but be paid so much per head for the increase of the slaves.

It is the common practice for attorneys, and often for overseers, to have a commission on the crops (Cook, Davison, Fitzmaurice, Clappeson, and Coor). This has a manifest tendency to make them push the negroes beyond their strength. Accordingly we find, from Davison, that he has been with attorneys to visit the estates, and he has seen them do little else than inquire about the crops. He never heard them make any inquiries into the treatment or state of the slaves. Coor says, he has known attorneys *wink at overseers*\* pressing the slaves to perform more work than human nature could bear.

4. Let the picking of grafts neither be extra work, nor done in the intervals of rest; but let a grass-gang be selected for this purpose; or entirely abolish graft-picking, by laying out pasture land.

This regulation, as may be seen in Chap. IV. would tend wonderfully to lessen the labour and punishment, and, of course, promote the increase of the slaves.

\* There is also a very destructive notion prevalent, viz. "That he is the best overseer who makes the largest crops." To this criterion of an overseer's merit it is owing that thousands of slaves have been killed by being overworked. This notion ought to be changed for the following: "That he is the best overseer who preserves the slaves."

5. Let the corn given to the negroes be ground for them.

This regulation would tend much to lessen their labour, as will be seen from the following account. When the women return home, says Davies, they have to grind their corn, by the *strength of their arms rubbing it between two stones*. They must rise with the earliest dawn to prepare their food, that they may be in the field in time, to escape punishment. These circumstances, but particularly the grinding of their corn, tended to discourage marriage, the woman's life becoming harder then from being thus a slave to her husband. Forster also observes, that the grinding of their corn at night, by hand, was in crop-time a great hardship.

6. Let tasks of such parts of the work, as will admit them, be assigned to the slaves, as practised in America.

In America, says Baillie, the overseer roused the slaves, and set them to work in the morning. They did not work for set hours, but by task-work, generally a rood of land to each, when easily cultivated ; when otherwise, the overseer sets the strongest to the hardest work, and *vice versa* : and indeed it was usual to lessen the piece of land considerably, when uncommonly foul. The negroes generally helped those who could not finish as soon as the rest, so that they left the field at once, pretty early in the afternoon, when their work ceased, and they were at perfect liberty for the rest of the day. Mr. Baillie adds, that the drivers seldom or never whipped the slaves through their day's work ; because it was impossible to know till towards the close of the day, whether a slave would or would not finish his task, and it was thought time enough to punish when the negroes deserved it.

This politick method of working by task has been tried in Jamaica. Mr. Fitzmaurice hired sixty negroes, all Americans, from a Mr. Douglas who resided there, and employed them in this manner. They had a task measured out to them every morning by Mr. Douglas or his overseer, and which they finished by one or two o'clock, and had the rest of the day to themselves. The driver

driver carried no whip, and only went occasionally to see that the work was properly done.

It will now be evident to the reader how much the introduction of task-work into the West Indies would add to the ease and comfort, and of course to the natural increase, of the slaves ; for, by this wise and politick method, the work is apportioned to the strength of the slaves, and the weak are not obliged to keep up with the strong. The whip also, by which they are incessantly harrassed, is avoided. This alone is of great importance. Mr. Crew thinks the use of the whip formed a difference in the treatment of American and West Indian slaves greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. They have also, by means of the system recommended, the important advantage of a part of the afternoon and evening to themselves, in which they can cultivate their little portions of lands, prepare their provisions, and yet have sufficient time to rest : all which would greatly add to the comfort of their lives.

If there should be any objection to the introduction of task-work into the West India islands, after what has been said, it can only arise from a supposition, that the slaves getting their work done by two or three in the afternoon, cannot do so much for their owner, as those who work till sun-set, on the present system. The very reverse, however, is the case : for Mr. Fitzmaurice observes, that those negroes whom he employed by task in Jamaica, finished their work by one or two o'clock, whereas the plantation negroes on the adjoining land would not finish till dark, even with the driver, the same quantity of land.

Having now stated all that appears in the evidence, on the subject of easing the labour of the slaves, as the means of increasing them by birth, we come to a few regulations of another kind.

7. Never let the same person hold the offices of attorney and overseer, or manager : nor let an estate be put under the care of an attorney who either has many estates to attend to, or who lives many miles from the estate he is to superintend.

All these evils are abundantly stated in the evidence, and, it is therefore clear, that the above regulation would have a tendency to obtain protection for the slaves, in cases of unmerited or excessive punishment, on the part of the overseer: for, by the 3d regulation, it would be the interest of the attorney to inquire into their complaints, and redress them, and not, as at present, to wink at their oppression; and by this regulation, he would be at hand and have time to do his duty. The slaves also would not be precluded by distance, from preferring their own complaints. This superintendance of punishments, was one of the causes that contributed to the increase on an estate mentioned in the preceding chapter.

8. Let a small part of the cane-lands be dismantled and turned into provision grounds, for the slaves.

The great want of provisions, which the slaves experience, has been amply explained in Chap. IV. It has been proved that those who have land enough allowed them have not sufficient time to cultivate it; but that evil will be removed by the introduction of task-work (Regul. 6.) and those who have little or no land will possess it by the present. This would be particularly useful, because provisions *raised*, says Botham, feed negroes better than any *dry or other provisions imported*. It would also preserve them from falling off as they do at present. Epidemicks, says Coor, are more fatal to poor and ill-fed, than to well-fed, hearty slaves. But one fatal epidemick prevailed while he was in Jamaica. It attacked all ranks of whites and blacks, and generally poor, ill-fed negroes died of it. Few well-fed negroes died of it, and *not one white man*. Nor need the planters be afraid that the dismantling of the canes for provision-land, will rob them of their former profits. If a hundred negroes cultivate as many acres of canes, and fifty acres be deducted for their support, it is not improbable but that the fifty in canes, with the labour of a hundred persons, may produce as much as the hundred acres before; for a hundred labourers are better able to cultivate and improve fifty, than twice the number of acres, and the

the earth will remunerate in proportion to the toil and improvement bestowed upon it. Of this we may adduce a striking instance, from Fitzmaurice. He observes that a gentleman had two estates in Clarendon, one of which Mr. Fitzmaurice managed. This gentleman had too few negroes for both estates, but sufficient for one. He, however, cultivated both. They produced him together 150 hogsheads of sugar per annum. He became in debt, and his negroes suffered. At length, changing his plan, he dismantled one of his estates, and put both the gangs on the other. These were then amply sufficient, and he is now making 400 hhds. *that is 250 more hhds. per year upon this one estate, than upon both together before,* and is now a clear man. This regulation then would tend to the proprietor's benefit, as well as to the increase of the slaves.

9. Let every encouragement be given to the moral and religious instruction of the slaves.

A deficiency in this particular, appears throughout the whole of the evidence. There has been, however, here and there, a solitary instance of a contrary nature, in the knowledge of Coor, Forster, Captain Smith, Duncan, and Fitzmaurice; and these declare, that where such moral and religious instructions have been encouraged, the slaves have shewn a *better disposition and behaviour;* that they have also paid a more general attention to *marriage,* and that they have *increased more by the births.*

Having now mentioned the principal regulations which the evidence suggests, in addition to those recommended in the former chapter, for producing a natural increase of the slaves, it is plain that were all those regulations combined, and generally enforced in the colonies, that increase would be proportionably accelerated.

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## C H A P. XIV.

*Whether the Colonists could carry on the necessary Cultivation of their Lands, without a fresh Importation of Slaves while this Increase was becoming effective ; or, in other Words, while the Generation immediately succeeding these Regulations were growing up to supply the natural Deaths of the Slaves of all Ages, now in their Possession.*

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**T**HIS question may be answered from what has appeared in some of the preceding chapters.

Slaves have been shewn to have been wounded by the watchmen, in stealing provisions to which they have been impelled by hunger ; but as, by some of the foregoing regulations, they would be sufficiently fed, (and where they have been sufficiently fed the evidence has shewn that they have not stolen at all) those watchmen would become unnecessary as such, and might be turned into the effective field-gangs.

It has appeared also, that where task-work is introduced the whip is unnecessary : hence the drivers, whose only business is to force labour (and of whom there are four or five, says Coor, to every 100 slaves) might themselves be converted into field-labourers.

It has been shewn too, that, in consequence of their being

ing better fed, according to some of the regulations suggested, they would be far less liable to suffer from epidemics ; and it is evident, that, being better fed, less worked and harrassed by the whip, that is, in every respect, better used, their lives would be proportionably prolonged.

It has likewise appeared, that two slaves, assisted by the plough, do the work of thirty without it ; and that, in the earthing up of the canes, two slaves using the East Indian implement mentioned, would do the work of ten with the hoe.

From the present compulsive and oppressive system, it has appeared in evidence, that numbers of slaves run away, and are laid up sickly. But the regulations would put an end to these evils, and the gangs, not being deserted and thinned as before, would become more efficient in strength and number.

This strength and this number would be rendered still more effective, by the assistance and labour of such, as we have seen, are under the present system, often crippled or badly wounded by the watchmen. From the above then it appears,

1. That on the day the importation should cease, the colonists, by incorporating the watchmen and drivers in their field-gangs, would have an additional number (and that a considerable one) of seasoned hands by which they would be compensated for the natural deaths of the working slaves, during at least a part of the time in which the rising generation were growing up for labour.

2. That the natural deaths of the working slaves would be greatly and progressively retarded, from that day, and could not possibly happen so frequently as before.

3. That, taking into consideration the retarding of the deaths of the working slaves, and the augmenting of their number, they might not, in three or four years be so reduced, but that their number might be then equal to what it was on the day of stopping the importation,

when

when the whole of the efficient hands under the former wretched system were not thus called into employ..

4. That even if no augmentation could be made to the number of working slaves, and their natural deaths were as frequent as before, it by no means follows that the cultivation need be impeded till the rising generation could grow up; because a much less number of hands, assisted by cattle and the implements mentioned, would evidently do much more work than a greater, under the present system.

In short, after the circumstances stated, and considering also that there is now in the colonies a series of Creoles of all ages, ready to supply successively the places of many that would go off by natural death, no man can rationally suppose, that the number of working slaves could ever be reduced so low, while the rising generation were growing up, as not to be as fully adequate to the cultivation of the colonies, as they are at present. Mr. Botham says, that by means of two-thirds, nay even one-half of the present force (and he speaks experimentally), the islands might be *much better cultivated*, under certain regulations, than under what he terms, *the present miserable management*: and yet the regulations suggested by Mr. Botham are not so numerous as those deduced from the evidence, in the preceding chapters.

If, however, any one should dispute this point, he must be told, that the colonists have yet many other resources. They have generally, in the first place, a number of domestick slaves that are supernumerary and useless. They have a great number of superfluous domesticks at Barbadoes, says Woodward, in town and country. Mr. Giles thinks half the domesticks of Grenada and Montserrat unnecessary. Lieutenant Davison has known, in Jamaica, from twelve to twenty domesticks in a house, where half the number would have done as well. Dr. Jackson too observes, that there are three times more domesticks in Jamaica than would be in England, for the same work; and Jeffreys, speaking of those in the same island, says they are too many; they are a nuisance from their numbers. Hence it

it is clear, that were it possible a failure of hands for the field could take place before the assigned epocha arrived, many domesticks might be spared, without any inconvenience, for field-labour. Nor would this change be at all disagreeable to many of them: for we have seen their lives often rendered miserable, by being constantly under the eye, and subject to the caprice of their masters and mistresses. Coor, indeed, has often heard many of them say, that they would rather be under the field hardships, than in the house.

This resource, though very considerable, is yet not the only one the planters are possessed of: for many of the slaves are coopers, carpenters, mill-wrights, copper-smiths, black-smiths, and the like, all of whom could perform field-labour, and their places, if necessary, be supplied with white men, who, if temperate, would not suffer in their health. Land-surveying, says Terry, is exceedingly laborious in the West-Indies; and yet he followed it for seven years, without injury to his health. He has often seen white mill-wrights at work in the sun, whose health did not suffer. There are also white coopers and black-smiths there, but the former only direct negroes working under them. Lieutenant Davison is sure whites, if temperate, could, without material injury, do any kind of out-door work. It is well known that the ship-wrights and other tradesmen in the king's yard, Port-Royal, often work all day long, and he never knew them unhealthier than people in general. White artificers do work at their trades in the West Indies, without materially hurting their health. Captain Cook has no doubt, and he speaks from many instances, that white people by habits of temperance and regularity of hours, might bring themselves to go through nearly as much labour and fatigue in the West Indies, as any people whatever. Mr. Clapperton thinks the whites, if temperate, are able to labour in Jamaica. He says, no people work harder than the English sailors there: and Dr. Jackson apprehends, as a medical man, that white men may work as artificers, in the West Indies, without any material detriment to their health.

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## C H A P. XV.

*Whether there be not a prevailing Opinion in the Colonies, that it is cheaper to buy or import Slaves than thus to increase them by Population—and whether the very reverse of this Opinion be not true; namely, that it is more profitable to breed than import.*

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THAT such an opinion prevails in the colonies is too evident. Dalrymple, Captain Wilson, Har-  
rison, and Sir George Young, all affirm, that in their time it was thought by some planters to be *cheaper to buy than to breed*. The prevalence of the same notion is also confirmed by others. Mr. Rees was informed that the planters did not think it worth their while to breed more than they did. The buying system is said by Dr. Jack-  
son to have been generally preferred. Captain Hall says, the planters esteemed the charge of rearing a child to maturity, more troublesome and greater than buying a slave, fit for work; and the same opinion is described as prevailing by Fitzmaurice, Duncan, and Davison. As a farther proof of the existence of such a notion, we may refer to the calculations made upon these occasions. If a negro lasted a certain time, says Baillie, his death was accounted

accounted nothing. This time is described by Fitzmaurice to be seven years. Captain Giles also heard the term of seven years affixed for the existence of a gang of negroes, which he saw, and we find a man of the name of Yemman, by Captain Scott's account, reducing his calculation to four years, treating his slaves most cruelly, and saying that four years labour of a negro was enough for him ; for that *he then had his pennyworth out of him, and he did not care what became of him afterwards.*

As this notion is so fatal to population, and is indeed evidently one grand source from whence the present evils in the colonial system spring, it will be proper to examine the evidence, to see if we cannot shew the reverse of it to be true.

There is one circumstance that leads us strongly to suspect that it is not so well founded as its general prevalence would warrant, which is, that *one-third of all that are bought die in the seasoning.* This seasoning is not a distemper, but is the time an African takes to be so habituated to the colonial labour, as to be counted an effective supply.

Some planters, says Woolrich, who have bought lots of slaves, have informed him, that they have lost one-third of them or more in the first year of their seasoning.

Mr. Terry states, that very considerable losses were common among the newly imported Africans. One-third die within the first year. Of a lot of six, bought by himself, two died within the first year, and at the end of five years, two only survived.

Mr. Forster recollects a planter, who bought thirty new negroes, and lost them all within the year.

Mr. Fitzmaurice, in the last four years he was in Jamaica, bought ninety-five new negroes. At the end of that time, he sold fifty-two, all that were then alive, and those not seasoned. Had he kept them till seasoned, he should have lost more, and for this very reason he sold them. He thinks, upon an average, at least one-third of the new negroes imported, die in the first three years.

Though this circumstance would induce us to think that it was cheaper to rear than to buy a slave, (for in estimating

estimating the price given for one that is bought, not only the prime cost is to be considered, but a third more is to be added to it, with various other circumstances) yet, as sufficient data are not to be found in the evidence to enable us to come to a calculation, we must be content to abide by the facts that follow.

Those estates, says Forster, which bought the greatest number of new negroes, were not thought to be the most flourishing. *It was exactly the reverse.*

On an estate, which Mr. Coor knew, the proprietor was often buying lots of twenty, thirty, or forty slaves, and yet this man, by ill using them, (*which ill usage is inseparably connected with the buying system*) suffered a reduction both in the number of his negroes and the produce of his estate; so that, from good circumstances, his credit was in eleven years reduced to a low ebb.

Captain Scott was present at the sale of Yemman's property, the person mentioned to have adopted the system of buying in preference to that of breeding, and working his negroes up in the space of four years.

Lieutenant Davison believes owners of slaves are very commonly involved with Guinea merchants; for they often stay on the estates all the week, except Sundays, *with their gates always locked.*

The dependence on the imported slaves, says the Rev. Mr. Davies, certainly contributed to *embarrass* planters.

Mr. Woolrich, who is qualified to give the history of Tortola in this particular, says, that when he first went there, there were but few slaves, and that at this time the planters were in good credit, and none of them involved in debt. In about three or four years, however, after his arrival there, some Guinea ships came down with cargoes of slaves. The planters in general bought many of the new negroes died in the seasoning, and Guinea ships coming down time after time, the planters bought to supply their places. This continuing, many of them got much into debt, by purchasing slaves on credit, and were obliged to mortgage their estates and slaves to merchants in England. He has never known a planter, who thus mortgaged, pay off the debt. Some in

in consequence have been obliged to have them sold by auction, much under value; and he has known others, even obliged to become overseers where they were proprietors before. Since he left Tortola, he has been informed, by means of correspondence, or seeing some person from the island, (which is generally the case once a year) of its annual state to the present time. The last information represented the planters to be in very distressed circumstances. Divers of their estates, mortgaged in England, had been sold at publick vendue upon very low terms, because few were able to pay for them, and the general credit so low with the planters, that but few could obtain the necessaries they wanted from the stores kept there, by reason of their debts to the English merchants. It has been his opinion for many years, that the unnecessary purchase of African slaves has been the main cause of their embarrassments, and the accumulation of their debts. He is sure that seven eighths of them would have been in much better circumstances, if they had not bought any negroes during the time of his residence there, but had used those they had with humanity and care.

To the above accounts we may subjoin the following from Mr. Savage. In the year 1739, he observes, a duty was laid in Carolina on the importation of slaves, which amounted to a prohibition, and which continued to 1774. The purchase of new negroes having involved the planters greatly in debt, was the reason why the legislature laid it.

These are some of the circumstances, which are intended to shew, that the reverse of the notion or opinion mentioned, is true, that is to say, that it is cheaper to breed than to import. Others are, that wherever estates are mentioned in the evidence as flourishing, and the proprietors of them as clear men, it is where they have adopted the principle of breeding, and of treating the slaves they have had with humanity and care \*. It may

\* Many other advantages appear by the evidence to result from the system of breeding slaves and using them well. Suicide and rebellion are peculiar to the imported slaves. Hence the peace of mind and interest of the proprietor are materially concerned, and it fully appears that such slaves do much more work than others in the same time.



also be added here from the evidence, that the breeding of slaves was considered so *profitable* in some parts of America, that people held them for this purpose alone, independently of any prospect from the fruits of their labour.

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## C H A P. XVI.

*Whether it be more politick to extend the Cultivation of the Colonies by the Continuance of the Slave-Trade, or wait till the rising Generation shall be capable of performing*

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M R. IRVING states, by means of official papers from the Custom-house, that the British West India Islands, in their present state, produce annually a greater quantity of sugar and rum than is requisite for the consumption of Great Britain, her immediate dependencies, and the kingdom of Ireland, and, to extend the cultivation, he considers to be very impolitic, for two reasons:

First, because such extension can only be made from British capitals, which might be employed in carrying on and extending the manufactures, commerce and agriculture

ulture of the mother country, but which must thus be transferred to the most vulnerable parts of the empire, and there invested in pursuits, which do not appear to him to be productive of a profit to the proprietor, or of advantage to the public, in any degree adequate to the precarious situation in which such property stands, from the contingencies of climate and of war: for, if but one island should be lost, it is a complete loss of so much capital to the empire: and Mr. Irving shews their extremely hazardous situation, by the capture of six of them, and the final separation of Tobago in the late war.

Secondly, because the sugar and rum to be produced by extending the cultivation (the present cultivation being more than sufficient for the demand of England and her dependencies) must be exported to foreign states. This, says Mr. Irving, is exceedingly impolitick; for the sugar made in the French islands can be afforded (which he shews by official papers) so much cheaper than the British, that, in order to enable the planters to sell it at the same price as their rivals, Government must give large and destructive bounties. Mr. Irving even states, and this again officially, that, in the most favourable period for the British islands, viz. before the late war, the French planters were able to sell their sugars from twenty to thirty per cent. cheaper than the British planters: and he conceives it to be a maxim thoroughly established in national commerce, that it is unwise to push forward by monopolies, restrictive regulations or bounties, any branch of commerce or manufactures, which cannot be carried on, after a fair trial, within fifteen per cent. of the prices of other rival countries.

To the above reasons, given by Mr. Irving, we may add, that the extension of the cultivation, by means of purchasing new slaves, must be exceedingly impolitick, if we bear in mind the evidence adduced in the preceding chapter: inasmuch as it must be, as it has ever been, attended with debts, mortgages, and ruin.

Now, if the above arguments should, in the opinion

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